DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 164 207 95 RC 011 033

AUTHOR	Morrison, James D.
TITLE	Schools for the Choctaws.
INSTITUTION	Dissemination and Assessment Center for Bilingual Education, Austin, Tex.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Bilingual Education (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Feb 78
NOTE	378p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$20.75 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education; American Indian Languages; American Indians; Bibliographies; Boarding Schools; Day Schools; *Educational Finance; Federal Legislation; *Government Role; *Historical Reviews; Photographs; *Reservations (Indian); *Schools; Treaties
IDENTIFIERS	American Indian Education; American Indian History; Chickasaw (Tribe); *Choctaw (Tribe); Federal Indian Relationship; Mission Schools; Tribal Government

ABSTRACT

The educational system developed by the Choctaw Nation during the nineteenth century began with annuity funding from early treaties which ceded Choctaw land to the U.S. and ended with Choctaw loss of control over their schools in 1899 to the U.S. government. Starting in 1818, missionaries from American Protestant denominations became an important factor in Indian education, establishing early mission schools in Choctaw lands in Mississippi and Alabama which promoted "agriculture, homemaking, Christianity, and citizenship". With the Indian Removal Act of 1830, mission schools were uprooted to follow Choctaws to their new Oklahoma home. The 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (continuing previous support for education, instituting the "Forty Youth Fund" which financed college education for Choctaws) and the Public School Act of 1842 (funds for seven boarding schools--two for boys, five for girls) were landmark decisions. Largely administered by missionary groups, schools were under Choctaw support. While boarding academies and seminaries were the backbone of the school system, neighborhood and Sunday schools (including weekend adult education) were also underway. Interrupted by the Civil War, Choctaw education efforts resumed in 1866 with boarding schools, neighborhood schools, and support for higher education. Federal control of the Choctaw school system resulted from the Curtis Act in 1898. (RS)

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Schools for the
CHOCTAWS

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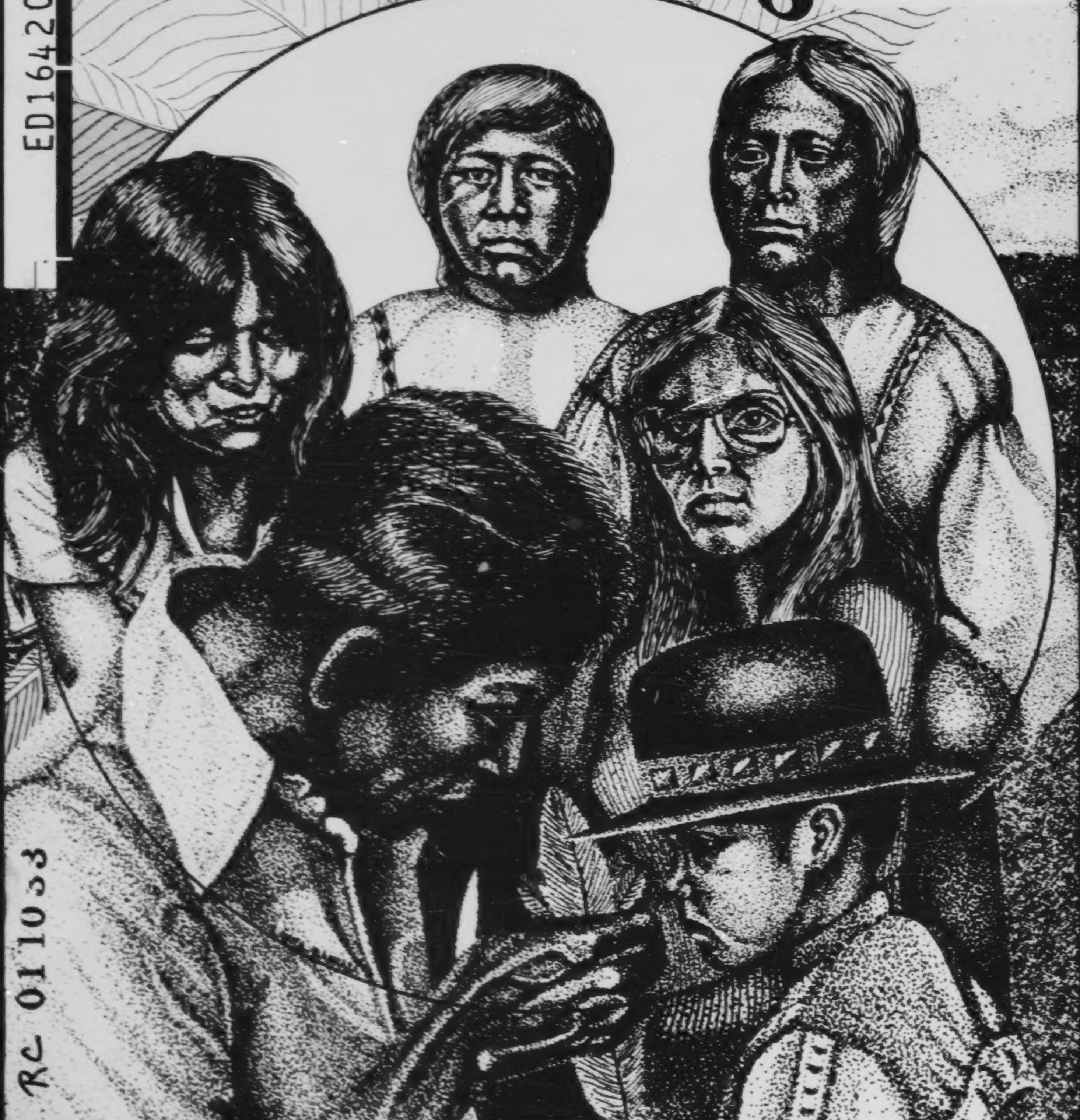

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SCHOOLS FOR THE CHOCTAWS

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First printing February 1978
ISBN 0-89417-322-7

Cover design: Santa Barraza

Dedicated to

the People of the Choctaw Nation,

Past, Present, and Future

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PREFACE

At inception, Schools for the Choctaws was intended to be a brief historical essay concerning the educational system developed by the Choctaw Nation during the nineteenth century. But like Topsy, the project grew in scope as more and more information was found to be available from collections of books and papers easily accessible to one whose physical activity had to be severely restricted. The two most important sources for the study thus became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Reports, found in the libraries of Southeastern Oklahoma State University and the Oklahoma Historical Society, and "Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, Schools, 1824-1873," procured on microfilm from the Federal Archives and Records Center at Fort Worth. What began as one essay expanded into thirteen, each a chapter in a continuing account but hopefully capable of making sense when read as a separate unit. As a result of this haphazard approach, two serious faults developed which are hereby recognized: the work is too repetitious and it is not annotated. Perhaps an even more serious defect derives from the author's inability to find the right words and mold them into felicitous phrases, clauses, sentences and paragraphs as he sought to transfer thoughts to paper.

A number of friends and colleagues at Southeastern, especially those who worked with the Choctaw Bilingual Education Program, furnished aid, comfort, advice, and encouragement as the study developed. Foremost among these was Wade Baskin, a prime mover in the establishment of the CBEP, who read and gently criticized the first draft of the earlier chapters. His untimely passing and the subsequent death of Todd Downing left voids which can never be filled completely at Southeastern. Others

page vi blank.

in the Program who helped in various ways include Pierce Martin and Randy Jacob, director and co-director; C. Rose Carter; Joseph E. Littlejohn; and Betty Keeton, who typed and typed and typed several preliminary drafts.

Several come to mind who were not connected with the CBEP, but whose interest in the project was stimulating to the writer. These include Mrs. Susan West, who typed the lithograph stencils, and Rev. J. M. Gaskin, who furnished access to much material in his library concerning Baptist missions in Oklahoma. Thanks are also due to W. David Baird, University of Arkansas; Angie Debo, Marshall, Oklahoma; Arthur H. De Rosier, Jr., East Tennessee State University; Walter N. Vernon, Nashville, Tennessee; and Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma City. All of the above cheerfully responded to inquiries concerning subjects of which each had special knowledge.

Particularly helpful were the staffs of both the Research Library and the Indian Archives Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City; of the Methodist Commission on Archives and History, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina; of the Presbyterian Historical Foundation, Montreat, North Carolina; of the Library and of the Alumni Office, Roanoke College, Salem, Virginia; and especially of the Library, Southeastern Oklahoma State University.

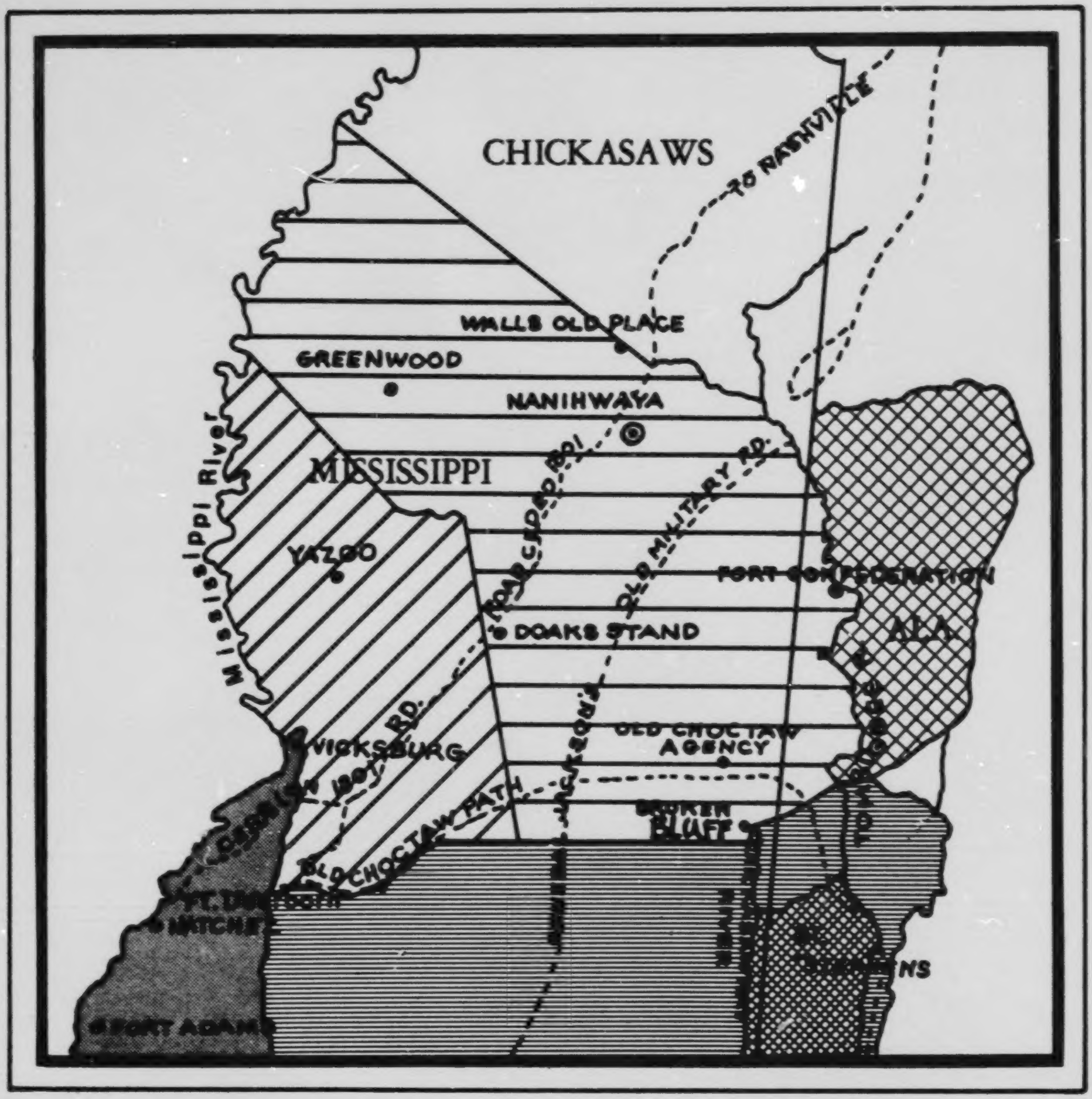
Individuals in other institutions whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged include: Virginia C. Brann, DePauw University Library; Kenneth C. Cramer, Archivist, Dartmouth College; Henrietta Harvin, Registrar, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; David W. Kraeuter, Washington and Jefferson College; Charles R. Lee, Centre College; Linda Morse, Temple University Library; Jonathan Pearson, III, Alumni Director, Union College; Judith A. Schiff, Yale University Library; J. Robert

Snyder, Georgetown College; and C. George Younkin, Federal Archives and Records Center, Fort Worth. These, and others not named whose forgiveness for the oversight is herewith requested, often went far beyond mere civility in seeking answers to questions asked them by mail from a stranger in Oklahoma.

Finally, my appreciation must be expressed to my wife. Without her patient understanding and unwavering forbearance, nothing could have been accomplished.

James D. Morrison

Durant, Oklahoma
June, 1975


CHICKASAWS
TO NASHVILLE
WALLS OLD PLACE
GREENWOOD
NANIHWAYA
MISSISSIPPI
Mississippi River
YAZOO
ROBINSON RD.
OLD MILITARY RD.
FORT CONFEDERATION
DOAKS STAND
ALA.
OLD CHOCTAW AGENCY
JACKSON'S
VICKSBURG
RD.
CESSION 1801
OLD CHOCTAW PATH
BROKEN BLUFF
FT. DEARBORN
NATCHEZ
FORT ADAMS
TOMBIGBEE

COMPILED FROM ROYCE, INDIAN LAND CESSIONS

CHOCTAW LANDS IN THE EAST

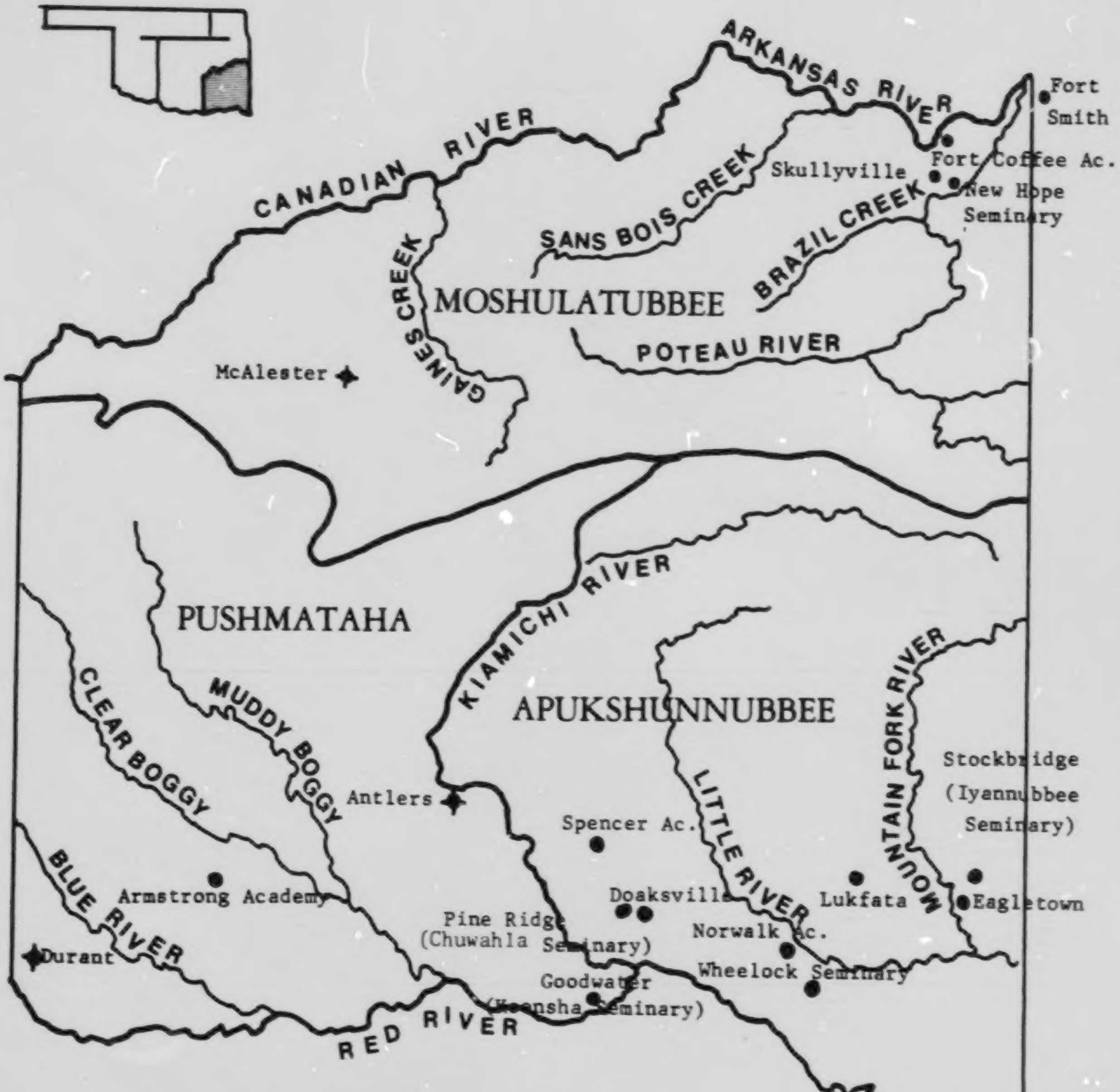
SHOWING CESSIONS TO UNITED STATES

▆	TREATY OF 1801	▩	TREATY OF 1816
▒	TREATY OF 1802	▨	TREATY OF 1820
▤	TREATY OF 1805	☐	TREATY OF 1830

0 35 70

SCALE OF MILES

35 MILES TO AN INCH


ARKANSAS RIVER
Fort Smith
CANADIAN RIVER
SANS BOIS CREEK
Skullyville
Fort Coffee Ac.
New Hope Seminary
BRAZIL CREEK
GAINES CREEK
MOSHULATUBBEE
POTEAU RIVER
McAlester
PUSHMATAHA
KIAMICHI RIVER
APUKSHUNNUBBEE
MOUNTAIN FORK RIVER
LITTLE RIVER
CLEAR BOGGY
MUDDY BOGGY
Stockbridge (Iyannubbee Seminary)
Antlers
Spencer Ac.
Armstrong Academy
Doaksville
Lukfata
Eagletown
Pine Ridge (Chuwahla Seminary)
Norwalk Ac.
BLUE RIVER
Durant
Wheelock Seminary
Goodwater (Koensha Seminary)
RED RIVER

CHOCTAW SCHOOLS
1848

✦Not existing in 1848

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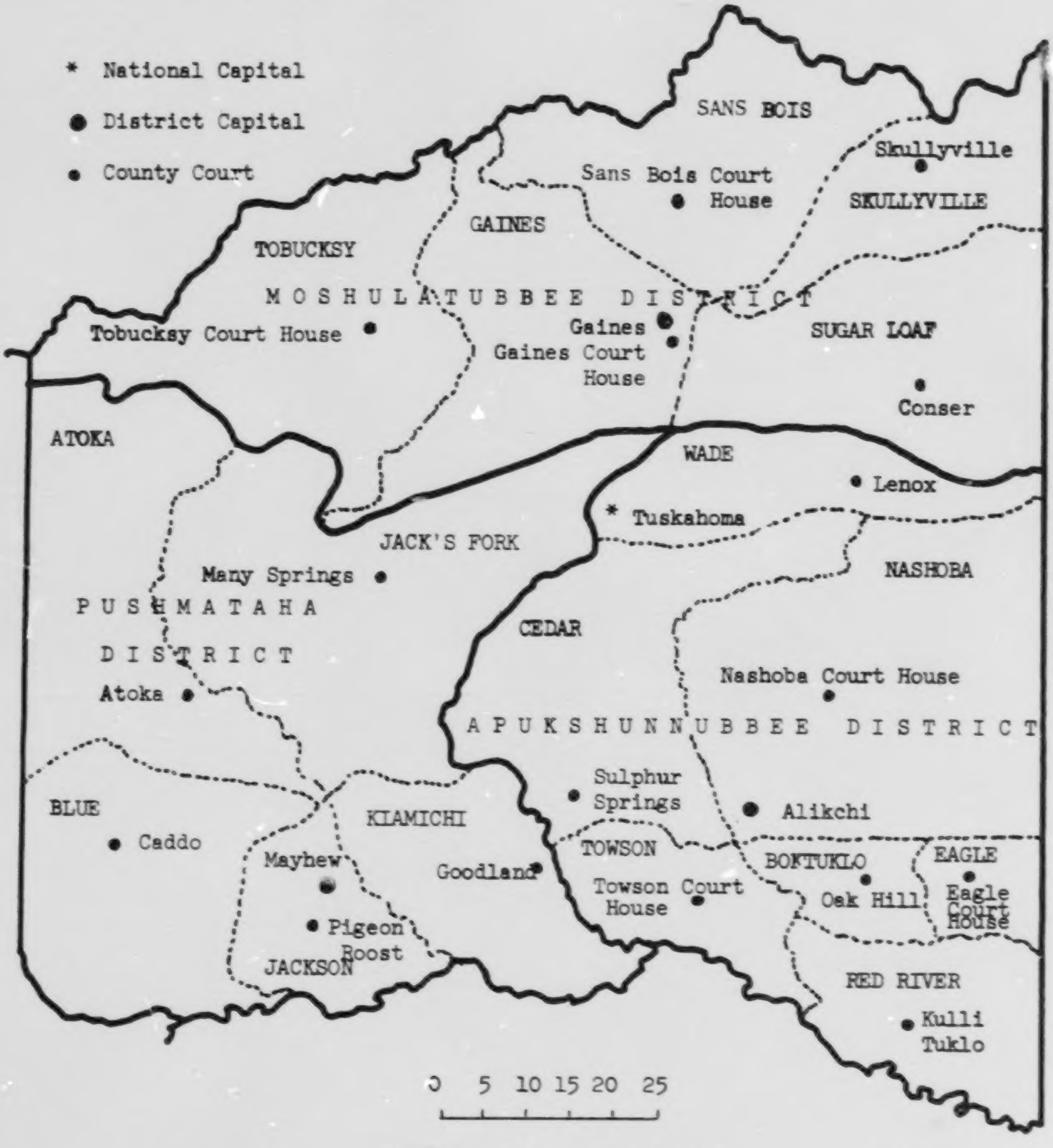
* National Capital
● District Capital
• County Court
SANS BOIS
Skullyville
Sans Bois Court House
SKULLYVILLE
GAINES
TOBUCKSY
MOSHULATUBBEE DISTRICT
Tobucksy Court House
Gaines
Gaines Court House
SUGAR LOAF
Conser
ATOKA
WADE
Lenox
Tuskahoma
JACK'S FORK
Many Springs
NASHOBA
PUSHMATAHA DISTRICT
CEDAR
Atoka
Nashoba Court House
APUKSHUNNUBBEE DISTRICT
Sulphur Springs
Alikchi
BLUE
Caddo
KIAMICHI
TOWSON
BOKTUKLO
EAGLE
Mayhew
Goodland
Towson Court House
Oak Hill
Eagle Court House
Pigeon Roost
JACKSON
RED RIVER
Kulli Tuklo
0 5 10 15 20 25

CHOCTAW NATION

(After 1850)**

**Pushmataha District: Blue County - originally Tiger Spring; re-named in 1854. Atoka County - originally Shappaway County; re-named in 1854. Jackson County - organized in 1886 from parts of the original four counties. Mushulatubbee District: Tobucksy County - organized in 1855 after Chickasaws and Choctaws separated. Apukshunnubbee District: No changes made in original county names and alinements.

I

FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY AND CHOCTAW EDUCATION, 1801-1830

The first clear enunciation of the Indian policy of the United States, by which the Indian Nations east of the Mississippi were to be dispossessed and removed West, was expressed by President James Monroe in his first annual message to Congress on December 2, 1817:

> It is our duty to make new efforts for the preservation, improvement, and civilization of the native inhabitants. The hunter state can exist only in the vast uncultivated desert. It yields to the more dense and compact form and greater force of civilized population; and of right it ought to yield, for the earth was given to mankind to support the greatest number of which it is capable, and no tribe of people have a right to withhold from the wants of others more than is necessary for their own support and comfort.

One might question the aptness of President Monroe's phrasing in the case of the Choctaws, since they were largely an agricultural people when first seen by Europeans and not truly a "hunter state." Monroe was in effect saying, of course, that all Indians living east of the Mississippi River must soon adopt the white man's ways or be moved into the "vast uncultivated desert" which early American explorers had decided was an appropriate label for most of the area west of the Mississippi. This study will endeavor to show how the Choctaws tried to cope with the pressures from the white man which threatened their nationhood, both before and after their removal from Mississippi to Oklahoma, especially by their establishment of a system of formal education.

The policy of voluntary removal of the Indians who stood in the way of "progress" had been adopted by President Jefferson as early as 1802.

In that year the Federal government made the so-called Georgia Compact by which the state of Georgia relinquished her claims to most of present Alabama and Mississippi in return for the Federal promise to remove all the native Americans from within Georgia boundaries at such time as the Indians became "agreeable." In 1803 the Louisiana Purchase furnished the United States the "desert" to which the Indians could be removed. To Jefferson, the Purchase was part of the solution for the burgeoning problem of what to do about the eastern Indians.

Since few Indians proved "agreeable" to leaving the land of their fathers voluntarily to make new homes in the West, eventually force had to be exerted to make them move. For some years after 1803, however, the situation was not critical and the white man satisfied his appetite for Indian land by nibbling at the tribal holdings in the East; there each tribe found itself in control of a constricted, ever diminishing strip of land. The Choctaw experience is an excellent example of what happened to nearly all the Indians living in the eastern United States. The piecemeal surrender by the Choctaws of their land in Alabama and Mississippi to Anglo-Americans began in colonial times and was completed by the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830. This study will examine only the latter part of the process, those Choctaw land cessions occurring after 1800.

In 1801 the southwestern part of Mississippi was ceded to the United States, from Vicksburg south and including Natchez, about 2,641,920 acres. It was this pact which established the famous Natchez Trace, a wagon road "for ever, a high-way for the citizens of the United States and the Chactaws," to use the language of the treaty. In return the Choctaws received goods and merchandise to the "value of two thousand dollars" plus three sets of blacksmith tools. Blacksmithing was to be one of the first skills taught to the Indians as part of the educational process envisioned for them by the white man.

In 1802 another sliver of land between the Chickasawhay and Tombigbee Rivers in southeast Mississippi and southwest Alabama, north of Mobile and including the present Washington County in Alabama, was ceded. The United States received a real bargain here, giving in return for the territory "one dollar, to them in hand paid." Perhaps this lack of compensation was rectified in 1803 when the boundary of the 1802 cession was enlarged and the signatory chiefs received fifteen pieces of coarse woolen cloth, three rifles, one hundred and fifty blankets, two hundred fifty pounds of lead, a bridle, a saddle, and a black silk handkerchief. In 1805 the Choctaws ceded some 4,142,720 acres to the United States, which comprised most of south central Mississippi and what is now Choctaw County, Alabama, and vicinity, south of a line beginning some fifty miles east of Natchez and extending east and a little north into Alabama. After this cession the remaining Choctaw country included most of central Mississippi south of the Chickasaw lands and a large area of west central Alabama between the Tombigbee and Black Warrior rivers. By these treaties of 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1805 the Choctaws were relieved of their title to almost eight million acres of land in southern Mississippi and Alabama, approximately one third of the territory recognized as Choctaw by the United States.

It was the treaty of 1805, signed at a place called Mount Dexter, which authorized the first Choctaw annuity. In return for the tremendous land cession the United States promised a permanent annual tribal income of $3,000 "for the use of the nation . . . in such goods as the Mingoes may choose . . . ." Another grant was in the amount of $48,000 to pay debts owed to white traders by the "Chaktaws." Still another grant went to John Pitchlynn, the white interpreter used by the United States in negotiations leading to this treaty as well as the ones signed in 1801, 1802, and 1803. A signer of all four, Pitchlynn was awarded $2,500 "to compensate him for certain losses sustained the Chaktaw Country, and as a grateful testimonial of the nation's esteem . . . ."

Pitchlynn's is an excellent example of how white men came to live among the Choctaws in this period and to sire mixed-blood families which became increasingly important in tribal affairs. Born in the 1750s on a ship lying off the Caribbean island of St. Thomas, he came to the Choctaw country in 1774, in the company of his father, Isaac Pitchlynn, a British trader. Late in 1774 his father died, and the eighteen-year-old Pitchlynn remained among the Choctaws, who quickly accepted him as not only a trader but as friend and adviser. Other white men already resident among the Choctaws included the three Folsom brothers, Nathaniel, Ebenezer, and Edmund. John Pitchlynn, in the early 1780s, married Rhoda Folsom, a half-blood daughter of Ebenezer; they had three quarter-blood sons who grew to manhood. In 1805, his first wife having died, John married Sophia Folsom, one of Nathaniel's twenty-five half-blood children. This union resulted in a second family of eight children. The eldest of these was Peter Perkins Pitchlynn, of one-fourth Choctaw blood, who later became a leader in the nation, serving as principal chief and receiving a number of other honors. Both the Pitchlynn and Folsom families played important roles in the subsequent history of the Choctaw people.

In addition to authorizing the first Choctaw annuity, the Mount Dexter treaty of 1805 had the practical effect of making the three most important leaders of the Choctaw Nation at that time, the district chiefs, pensioners of the United States. The words of the treaty are, in part: "[to the three] great Medal Mingoes, Puckshunubbee—Mingo [Apukshunnubbee], Hoomastubbee, and Pooshamattaha [Pushmataha]" $500 each "in consideration of their past services to the nation" and $150 annually "during their continuance in office." *Mingo* was the white man's rendition of *miko*, the Choctaw word for "chief." Presumably, a "Medal Mingo" was a chief of such importance that the United States had honored him by the presentation of a special medal. Apukshunnubbee was chief of the Northwest District, Hoomastubbee of the Northeast District, and Pushmataha of the South District. Of the three, Pushmataha was most influential. For example, in 1811 when Tecumseh met the Choctaws in council urging the chiefs to join him in war against the United States, Pushmataha spoke forcefully against Tecumseh's proposal and the Choctaws remained loyal to the United States. Perhaps it is significant that the meeting with Tecumseh took place near the Pitchlynn home and that John Pitchlynn also spoke against Tecumseh.

There were no land cessions between 1805 and 1816, primarily because of American preoccupation with events preceding the War of 1812 and then with the War itself and its aftermath. This conflict ended with the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, in which several hundred Choctaw troops led by Pushmataha fought under the command of Andrew Jackson as they had in previous engagements against the Red Stick Creeks, the full-blood faction of that Nation who had joined Tecumseh and the British. When the British threat ended, the United States again resumed the process of dispossessing the Choctaws and other Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes and forcing their removal west. Ironically for the Choctaws, their decision about this time to adopt many of the white man's institutions and thus, from the white point of view, to bring about their great educational, religious, and political development, did not prevent their being driven from their ancestral homes.

In 1816 the Choctaws made the first of several treaties leading to the surrender of all their remaining lands in the East and their removal West. The 1816 pact ceded to the United States most of the Choctaw country still remaining in west central Alabama; the Indians retained title to only a small area of Alabama west of the Tombigbee River. In return for this land the Choctaws received $10,000 plus another annuity of "six thousand dollars annually, for twenty years." Pushmataha was reported to have suggested that the Choctaws set aside from their annuity $2,000 a year from each of their three district chiefs for the education of Indian children. A full blood, apparently by this time he had come to believe that cooperation with the Americans and acceptance of the white man's education were necessary if the Choctaws were to keep their independence, their remaining territory in Mississippi, and their racial identity. He was "idealistic enough," one scholar has written, "to think that the American government would protect the right of a weaker people within [United States] territory, especially if the weaker race was loyal to the American nation . . ." as he and the Choctaws had been. Pushmataha wanted to be an Indian and a good American at the same time, but such a dual role was rather difficult if not impossible for a Choctaw living in the early 1800s.

It was in this same year of 1816 that James Monroe, author of the first major pronouncement on the Indian policy of the United States, was elected president. Following his inauguration on March 4, 1817, he brought into his cabinet a most important member, John C. Calhoun. As Secretary of War, Calhoun became responsible for United States Indian policy and the implementation of the "new efforts for the preservation, improvement and civilization of the native inhabitants" which Monroe later emphasized in his first annual message to Congress. There was no Department of the Interior until 1849 and Indian affairs were a responsibility of the War Department before that year. During his tenure as Secretary of War, Calhoun reorganized the War Department; one of his innovations was the creation in 1824 of the Bureau, then called "Office," of Indian Affairs to assist in the implementation of official plans for "civilizing" and removing the Indians. In order to accomplish these goals, the Secretary suggested three basic policies, namely: (1) to stop considering Indian tribes as legal nations, while at the same time attempting (2) to save the Indians from extermination by (3) teaching them the white man's concept of individual land ownership. He believed that Indians should be subject to the same controls as all other people residing within the national borders and that to accomplish their subjection "a proper combination of force and persuasion, of punishment and rewards" should be applied to bring them "within the pales of law and civilization." The phrases quoted are from a special War Department report made by Calhoun to the House of Representatives on December 8, 1818.

In order to save the Indians from extinction Calhoun proposed that the Indian "manners" and "customs" be replaced with the Constitution and laws of the United States. As each tribe became tractable as a result of its having become "civilized," it would then be removed west of the Mississippi River. It was understood that the United States would grant the Indians perpetual control of their western homes. It is obvious that

Calhoun's plan depended upon education, which the Federal government would promote among the Indians by providing annuities to furnish funds for Indian schools. As envisioned by Calhoun, until such time as the natives showed an aptitude for the three R's, the schools would concentrate on teaching agriculture, homemaking, Christianity, and citizenship. Calhoun realized the need for time to carry out a moderate, long-term policy, a policy which aimed at eventual and voluntary removal of the Indians through education, treaties, and the promise of a reasonable payment for Indian lands. If the land hunger of white frontiersman did not allow the time for peaceful fulfillment of the policy, he feared that the Indians would be exterminated by war or at least, to quote one scholar, "be so degraded that their extinction would be inevitable." Both Calhoun and Andrew Jackson, under whose command the Choctaws had fought during the War of 1812, believed that Pushmataha's people had advanced farther than most Indians in adopting the white man's culture. Apparently the American statesmen had decided that the Choctaws were quite suitable to be guinea pigs for initiation of the American policy for the education and eventual dispossession of all Indians in the East.

Without doubt, the Choctaw leaders initially failed to understand that tribal education was to be the forerunner of removal to the West, since Pushmataha showed no reluctance in suggesting in 1816 the use of the annuity for schools. He and other leaders believed that becoming "civilized" through the white man's education would permit them to remain in their homeland, but their disillusionment was soon begun. No matter what progress the Indians made in adopting the white man's civilization, the white hunger for their land remained. And in 1820 a treaty was made at Doak's Stand, on the Natchez Trace in central Mississippi, which pointed to the inevitable loss of their fatherland by the Choctaws. The preamble to this treaty is an excellent example of the forked tongue so often used by the white man in separating Indians from their birthrights. It read, in part:

> Whereas it is an important object with the President of the United States, to promote the civilization of the Choctaw Indians, by the establishment of schools amongst them; and to perpetuate them as a nation, by exchanging, for a small part of their land here, a country beyond the Mississippi River, where all, who live by hunting and will not work, may be collected and settle together . . . .

Further, the preamble stated, it was also "desirable" for the state of Mississippi "to obtain a small part of the land" still controlled by the Indians in order to secure "the happiness and protection of the whole Choctaw nation . . . ." Andrew Jackson, chief negotiator at Doak's Stand for the United States, in a letter written two months before the signing of the treaty to Colonel John McKee, agent to the Choctaws, put the white point of view quite bluntly when he stated that the best thing that could happen to the Choctaws was "to be removed by me for they are standing in the way of progress." This does not read as if Jackson's real intention was to secure for the United States and Mississippi only a "small part" of the Choctaw land in the East. He must have realized that Mississippi, which had become a sovereign state in 1817, would not long tolerate an Indian nation within its boundaries.

At Doak's Stand the Choctaws agreed to cede to the United States about one third of their remaining land in Mississippi, more than five million acres marked on the northwest by the mouth of the Arkansas River and including most of the Yazoo River Valley and the area around Jackson, some of the earth's most fertile soil. In return, the United States granted to the Choctaw Nation approximately thirteen million acres which embraced most of the present state of Oklahoma between the Arkansas and South Canadian rivers to the north and the Red River to the south. The United States had claimed this land as a result of a treaty made with the Quapaws in 1818. In addition, the east boundary of this western grant was so located that the Choctaw domain included a considerable portion of what is now southwest Arkansas. The object of the western land grant, of course, was to provide a residence for the Choctaws mentioned in the treaty's preamble as those "who live by hunting and will not work. . . ." To promote removal by the hunters and their families, each migrant was promised a blanket, kettle, rifle, bullet moulds and nippers, a year's supply of ammunition, and corn during removal and for one year after arrival in the new land. This removal was to be voluntary, but very few Choctaws removed as a result, especially not Pushmataha nor any other important tribal leader.

Along with other Choctaw leaders, Pushmataha at first opposed the Doak's Stand treaty. But the counsel of Andrew Jackson and other influential whites and the obvious threat to the very existence of the Choctaws posed by the land-hungry multitude of white Mississippians caused the great chief to change his mind. His influence was such that the other leaders followed suit when he argued that it was better to be humiliated than exterminated. Pushmataha may have been partially swayed by the educational provisions agreed to at Doak's Stand, so that he may have had the same feeling in 1820 that Chief Isaac Garvin later put into words in 1879 when he said: "Then I say educate! educate! or we perish!" The more cynical may argue as some scholars have, that Pushmataha and the other two "medal mingoes" signed simply because they were pensioners, dependents, of the United States and had been since 1805 when each began to receive $150 a year from the Federal government. Actually, only Pushmataha and Apukshunnubbee were still living in 1820, but Article 14 provided the same annual "salary" of $150 for Mushulatubbee which had been granted in 1805 to his predecessor Hoomastubbee, who had died in 1809. Mushulatubbee's self-interest was thus secured. Whatever our hindsight may indicate today, the agreement at Doak's Stand in 1820 was the first significant step made toward implementation of Calhoun's policy of moderation and was accepted by most Americans as beneficial for both Choctaw and whites.

The provisions for Choctaw education made by the 1820 treaty included a requirement that fifty-four sections of the land ceded by the Choctaws should be sold by the United States and the funds thus acquired "be applied to the support of the Choctaw schools, on both sides of the Mississippi River." Three fourths of this money was for the benefit of schools in Mississippi and the remainder for establishment of one or more schools in the West. As late as 1865 the fund thus created had a principal amount of $121,000. Another provision of the treaty of Doak's Stand was that an additional "tract of good land" be set aside to be sold to repay the chiefs the full amounts of the annuities they had previously applied to the schools so that the "whole of the annuity may remain in the nation, and be divided amongst them." The treaty stipulated that this additional land sale should provide $6,000 annually for sixteen years. It also provided that "the wants of every deaf, dumb, blind, and distressed Indian, shall be first supplied out of said annuity" before the balance was "equally distributed amongst every individual of said nation."

Choctaw parties sent out soon after the agreement at Doak's Stand to explore the western territory ceded to them by the United States discovered that a "large number of settlers, citizens of the United States," were already residing in that section of the grant which is now in southwest Arkansas. As a result, a new pact was necessary. Late in 1824 the three "medal mingoes" who had signed the agreement at Doak's Stand, accompanied by a number of other leaders, set out for Washington to negotiate a new treaty for correction of the error. Apukshunnubbee, mingo of the Upper Towns or Northwest District, died of an accident at Maysville, Kentucky, on the journey to Washington; and Pushmataha, Chief of the Six Towns or South District, died after he reached the capital and before completion of the negotiations. Thus Mushulatubbee was the only one of the three great full-blood chiefs to sign the Washington Treaty of 1825. Hereafter, until 1860, at least one of the district chiefs would be of mixed blood; and after that date, when the Choctaw constitution was rewritten to place the executive department under one principal chief, practically all the chiefs were of mixed blood.

By this treaty of 1825 the Choctaws returned to the United States roughly one fifth of the land granted to them west of the Mississippi in 1820. A section of the present eastern boundary of Oklahoma, that lying between the Arkansas and Red rivers, was set by this agreement and stipulated to "constitute, and remain, the permanent boundary between the United States and the Choctaws . . . ." In return for this cession, among other considerations, the Choctaws received more funds for education. The surviving records contain this plea from the Choctaw delegation to Washington in 1824-1825:

> The price we ask may be more than is usually given for value. We wish our children educated. . . . We feel our ignorance, and we begin to see the benefits of education. We are, therefore, anxious that

> our rising generation should acquire a knowledge of literature and the arts, and learn to travel in those paths which have conducted your people, by regular generations to their present summit of wealth and greatness.

The above is a quotation from Volume VI, page 552, of the American State Papers, Indian Affairs. It is permissible to speculate as to which member of the Choctaw delegation, each of whom signed the treaty with "his X mark," spoke the quoted lines. Perhaps the wording was that of the omnipresent John Pitchlynn, United States interpreter, listed as a witness to the treaty signing, as he was to practically every Choctaw treaty signed from 1801 until his death in 1835. Or even that of John C. Calhoun, still Secretary of War but newly elected vice-president and first signer of the treaty for the United States.

The particular provisions for education in the 1825 treaty included an annuity of "six thousand dollars, annually, forever" to be applied to the support of schools for twenty years, with special emphasis on "instruction in the mechanic and ordinary arts of life," and which could be re-negotiated by the Choctaws at the end of the two decades if they so desired. This was to be over and above the $6,000 for sixteen years provided in Article VII of the Doak's Stand agreement of 1820. Also, since the United States had done nothing to implement the provision of the Doak's Stand treaty which authorized the survey and sale of fifty-four sections of land for the support of Choctaw schools, the Federal government agreed in 1825 to "take immediate measures" to complete this responsibility. It should also be reported that Robert Cole, a member of the Choctaw delegation who had succeeded Apukshunnubbee as district chief--apparently no successor for Pushmataha was named until after the delegation returned to Mississippi--was named by Article X to receive an "annuity from the United States, of $150.00 a year, during his natural life, as was received by his predecessor." And another "medal mingo" became tied to the American interest.

Federal officials hoped that as a result of the treaties of 1820 and 1825 the majority of Choctaws would remove themselves from Mississippi voluntarily. Continuously American agents conferred with Choctaw leaders, urging them to cede the remainder of their lands in the East and remove as a body to the West. But the answers were always negative. It has been estimated that by 1829 only 150 Choctaws, out of a population of perhaps eighteen thousand or more, had been induced to settle in their new territory. But events of 1829 and 1830 made the pressures for removal almost irresistible. In 1829, the legislature of the state of Mississippi, unwilling to wait any longer for the success of the Federal schemes for voluntary removal, provided for extension of state laws over Choctaw and Chickasaw lands "adjacent to organized counties." And in 1830 the individual Indians were "granted" state citizenship, their tribal governments abolished, and penalties of fine and imprisonment decreed for any Indian who should exercise the "office of chief, mingo, head man, or other post of power established by the tribal statutes, ordinances, or customs of the said Indians." Events of these years fulfilled the worst forebodings of Greenwood Leflore, a mixed-blood nephew of Robert Cole who became chief of the Northwest District in 1826. Leflore wrote in 1827:

> . . . we are anxious to become sivillize Nation if our father lets us rest few years but wee have been pastered for land so much wee dont know what to do heartly, but I hope wee will rest now a while.

There was to be no rest for the Choctaws. Andrew Jackson was elected president in 1828 and inaugurated in 1829. A year later he secured passage of the Indian Removal Act, a law which provided for compulsory removal or dissolution of all Indian tribal entities east of the Mississippi River. If the Choctaw Nation was to continue its existence, it would have to be west of the Mississippi on the lands assigned by the pacts of 1820 and 1825. A final removal treaty, by which the Choctaws ceded all remaining territory in the east to the United States, thus became necessary in order to preserve a national Choctaw government recognized and protected by the United States. The final land cession, a total of 10,423,130 acres, mostly in central Mississippi but including a small part of west central Alabama, was made by an agreement signed at Dancing Rabbit Creek on September 27, 1830, only three months after President Jackson had signed the Indian Removal Act into law on June 30. This sealed the fate of the Choctaws. As one scholar has put it, they had to "remove or become American citizens."

A continuance and enlargement of the policy of granting Federal annuities to individual chiefs is evident in Article XV of the treaty made at Dancing Rabbit Creek. The "three principal chiefs," Greenwood Leflore, Nitakechi, and Mushulatubbee, were to receive, not only title to four sections of Mississippi land each, but they and "their successors" were to receive "two hundred and fifty dollars annually while they shall continue in office." Further, if the Nation decided to elect an "additional principal chief" with executive powers over the whole Nation, such a chief would be paid $500 annually by the United States. The life of this arrangement was set for twenty years. This treaty also provided payments for lesser officials. The "Speakers," leaders of the delegations in the General Council from each of the three districts, were each to receive twenty-five dollars annually for four years; each secretary to a district chief was granted fifty dollars annually for four years; and ninety-nine "captains," thirty-three for each district, designated to lead small removal parties of between one and two hundred in number, were each to receive fifty dollars annually "during removal" as well as some items of value. Most Choctaw leaders derived a personal gain from completion of this removal treaty.

The completion of a final removal treaty with the Choctaws, less than ninety days following the signing of the Indian Removal Act, is one of a number of events which enhance the importance of Dancing Rabbit Creek in the history of the development of United States Indian policy. A recent study by Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr., has advanced the concept that the removal of the Choctaw Nation from its Mississippi lands to Oklahoma "represented an event of major importance in the history of the American Indian." DeRosier suggests that the Choctaws, forming one of the largest Indian nations east of the Mississippi River, were deliberately selected by Jackson and other Federal leaders as the first tribal population to be removed to the West following passage of the Removal Act. In fact, the policy developed in relocating the Choctaws was to be followed by the United States in all future Indian removals.

The Dancing Rabbit Creek treaty not only continued the previous support for education but also added new provisions, the most unusual of which assured Federal funds over a period of twenty years for the higher education of the most promising Choctaw young men. Article XX of the treaty stated that "their [sic] shall be educated under the direction of the President . . . forty Choctaw youths" who should "be kept at school." A special Choctaw fund resulted, which in succeeding years became known as the "Forty-Youth Fund" and financed college educations for many Choctaw leaders. This same article further specified that the United States should "erect a church for each of the three Districts, to be used also as school houses" until the Nation built others, and provided that twenty-five hundred dollars annually should be given for the support of "three teachers of schools for twenty years." Since Article XVII guaranteed that all money provided for education under former treaties should be continued, the Choctaws had considerable funds available for educational purposes.

The preceding has been an attempt to explain how money came to be provided for education of the Choctaws in the white man's culture. The temptation is to say "Federal" funds but certainly that is inaccurate. The money for education was derived from annuities which originated in treaties by which the Choctaws ceded to the United States land which was coveted by the whites. This was a period of increasing stress for the Choctaws; but they escaped the violence that erupted among the Creeks and Cherokees, who had enacted laws that made the signing of a treaty ceding land an act of treason punishable by death. After removal the Choctaws did pass such a law, dated October 9, 1839, which provided that:

> . . . any Chief, captain or citizen of this Nation who shall sign any instrument of writing in any way conveying or making sale of any portion or the whole of the Choctaw Nation, shall be deemed a traitor and an enemy to his country, and shall suffer death.

If such a law existed before 1830, it was not enforced by the Choctaws. This discussion will be continued with a look at the schools which were established by using the resources provided by the various treaties.

II

EARLY MISSION SCHOOLS, 1818-1830

As the United States Indian policy was being developed during the early years of the nineteenth century, a revival of general missionary interest among American Protestant denominations occurred. This revival became a very important factor in the education of the Indians, believed by Calhoun to be essential to the solution of the "Indian problem." Between 1800 and 1815 nearly every important Protestant group in the United States organized a missionary society for the "propagation of the Gospel" among the heathen worldwide. In most cases an educational program, designed to "civilize" the aborigines, was installed as a major phase of the mission project. As will be seen, this wave of missionary fervor had a tremendous role in shaping the future of the Choctaws and most other Indians in the East. Further, the educational systems established by the missionaries were designed to provide a curriculum which would promote Calhoun's proposal for the teaching of "agriculture, homemaking, Christianity, and citizenship."

Founder of the first Protestant mission to the Choctaws in 1818 was a devout New Englander, Cyrus Kingsbury (1786-1870), a native of Alstead, New Hampshire, who dedicated his life to the Choctaw people. He died at Boggy Depot at the advanced age of eighty-four years. Lame from his youth, the Choctaw name for Kingsbury was "Limping Wolf"; another title for Kingsbury could well have been "Apostle to the Choctaws." The opinion of many of the Indians he served was probably best put into words by Allen Wright, one of Kingsbury's Choctaw proteges, soon after the death of the great missionary. Wright stated that: ". . . all the civilization, social improvement, and progress in education and religion, of which the Choctaws can boast, is intimately associated with his name."

Wright's statement illustrates an unquestioned conviction in the minds of the missionaries, indeed in the minds of practically all white Americans of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. The conviction was that the Indians, Choctaws or otherwise, had no civilization worth preserving, that "civilization" meant the white man's culture, and that the only salvation for the Indians was to rescue them from their "savage paganism" by breaking down the tribal patterns and replacing these patterns with the culture of the Anglo-Americans. Kingsbury and his fellow Christian workers had a dual sense of mission, an unquestioning certainty that their task was, not only to preach the Gospel for the salvation of Indian souls, but to bring the blessings of white civilization to the Choctaws. Completely ignored was the possibility that the Choctaw culture possessed any merit whatever, a belief which most Choctaws themselves came to accept rather early, if missionary and other reports can be believed.

Like most mortals, the missionaries were blinded by their ethnocentrism. Mission reports, such as those concerning events leading to the establishment by Kingsbury of the first Choctaw mission station, always stated that requests for the establishment of mission stations came from "the Indians," or "the Choctaws" in this case. What was not reported was that almost invariably the so-called "Indians" were from a minority faction who were of mixed Indian and white blood and usually included some all-white intermarried citizens of the Indian Nation. In the case of the Choctaws, the petitioners for mission schools in 1818 bore names such as Pitchlynn, Leflore, and Folsom, who were either intermarried whites or Indians with white fathers and Choctaw mothers. Full blood names such as Pushmataha, Moshulatubbee, or Apukshunubbee were notably missing from the reports requesting that missionaries be sent. So that one can question the "Choctawness" of "one old chief" reported by a mission publication of the eighteen-twenties as saying: "The Choctaws are ignorant; they know when day comes and when night comes. That's all they know. We expect to die in our old habit, but we want our children to do better."

Kingsbury and his first co-workers, Mr. and Mrs. Loring S. Williams, named their original station Eliot, in honor of John Eliot, the great Puritan "Apostle to the Indians" of New England during the seventeenth century. The Kingsbury mission was sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, until 1837 a joint project of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Dutch Reformed churches of the northeastern United States. Selection of the Choctaw Nation as a site for foreign mission work by the American Board probably stemmed from the recommendation of Samuel J. Mills, an early leader of the American Board. In 1812 Mills, accompanied by the Reverend John F. Schermerhorn, later to play his part as an agent of the United States in securing the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia, visited the Choctaw country and reported concerning the prospects that:

> . . . a mission here would have [great] prospect of success . . . . They have already made great progress in agriculture and civilization and are by degrees casting off the Indian habits and adopting the modes of the whites.

As a consequence, many of the missionaries to the Choctaw Nation were from New England, including both Kingsbury and Williams. In most cases the missionaries, both men and women, were individuals of culture whose educational level was much higher than that of the average American of the early 1800s. For example, Kingsbury was an 1812 graduate of Brown University and completed his theological training at Andover, Massachusetts, Seminary in 1815. As a result of his tremendous work among the Choctaws, Brown University later honored him with the degree of doctor of divinity.

Also a New Englander, born in Vermont, Loring S. Williams apparently did not complete as much formal education as did Kingsbury, and he was not an ordained minister until he had been with the Choctaw mission for twelve years, his ordination occurring on March 27, 1830. Formal education or not, Williams proved himself a scholar in his own right. By the time he retired from the Choctaw mission work in 1837, after twenty years of service, he had become very proficient in the Choctaw language. He translated numerous hymns, tracts, and Bible stories into Choctaw. Some of these were published by the American Board in Boston, while others were printed at Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, on the press brought to that site by the noted American Board missionary to the Cherokees, Samuel A. Worcester. A number of hymns in the Choctaw Hymn Book, still in use today, are signed "L. S. W." to indicate that the translator was Loring S. Williams. He also wrote several books for Choctaw children which were published at Park Hill.

Another New Englander, better known today than Williams as a scholar in the Choctaw language, was Cyrus Byington, a native of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Sent to Mississippi by the American Board, he arrived in January, 1820, the leader of a party of twenty-three mission workers, farmers and teachers as well as ministers. Byington had first read law with an attorney in his home town, being admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1814. After a year or two of law practice, struck by the call to become a Christian missionary, he entered Andover Seminary for theological training. Upon graduation in 1819 from Andover, he was licensed to preach and sent to join Kingsbury in Mississippi. Not only did he appreciate the value to the missionary effort of a knowledge of the native language and traditions of the Choctaw people, but he understood the importance of this information to scholars. By 1834 Byington had completed the first draft of his Choctaw grammar and when he died in 1868, he left not only the grammar in manuscript form but also a Choctaw dictionary in five paper-bound folio volumes with entries on both sides of each leaf. Modeled after the typical English or classical dictionary of the author's time, this work, A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language, was printed in 1915 as Bulletin 46 of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology. The grammar had been published earlier, in 1870, under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society.

If Cyrus Kingsbury deserved such titles as "Apostle" and "Statesman" of the Choctaw Mission, surely Byington was the mission "Scholar." Since he became quite an eloquent preacher in the Choctaw language, Mr. Byington also received an Indian name which, when translated, meant "Sounding Horn," in tribute to his sonorous style and delivery. Two other leaders of this early mission effort also earned epithets, Alfred Wright and Ebenezer Hotchkin. Wright, born at Columbia, Connecticut, in 1788, was a graduate of Williams College who attended Andover Seminary for two years before joining the Choctaw Mission in 1823. Since he had studied medicine and used this knowledge very effectively in his mission work, Wright became the beloved "Physician" to the Choctaws. Upon his death in 1853, Wright was buried at Wheelock, the mission station he established in southeastern Oklahoma after the Choctaw removal to the West. The "School-Teacher" of the Choctaw Mission was Ebenezer Hotchkin, born in 1803 at Richmond, Massachusetts. Although Hotchkin had only a common school education, he was proficient enough in the common branches of learning to be appointed a teacher by the American Board. Arriving in Mississippi in 1828, he remained with the Choctaws as teacher and preacher until his death in 1867. His license to preach was authorized by Tombigbee Presbytery at Columbus, Mississippi, in 1832.

The plan of operation for Indian missions as projected by the leaders of the American Board and implemented by the resident missionaries in the Choctaw country was stated thus:

> . . . to establish schools in different parts of the tribe under missionary direction and superintendence; to teach common-school learning and the useful arts of life and Christianity; [and] so gradually to make the whole tribe English in language, civilized in habits, and Christian in religion.

In 1819 Kingsbury stated his personal version of the mission goals with these words:

> It is our intention to embrace in their education that practical industry, that literacy, moral and religious instruction, which may qualify them for useful members of society and for the exercise of that genuine piety which forms the basis of true happiness.

To accomplish these aims Kingsbury and his co-workers needed more than a church building for a mission station. The early mission communities necessarily consisted of several buildings, those used for schools having first priority. A model mission, such as Kingsbury's first station at Eliot, quickly grew into a self-sufficient village. Practical farming on nearby land was always part of the mission effort, and farm buildings of various types were always built in addition to school, church, and residential structures. Often, of course, the same building served both as school and church. Practical farming was done not only to furnish food for workers and students but also to instruct the Indian boys in the art of agriculture.

The goal of establishing schools in various sections of the Choctaw country was carried out rather quickly. The aboriginal Choctaw Nation was divided into three districts: the Northwest, or Upper Towns; the Northeast, or Lower Towns; and the South, or Six Towns. Eliot Mission had been located in the Northwest District on the Yalobusha River about thirty miles from its junction with the Yazoo. In 1820 Kingsbury, accompanied by David Folsom, a mixed-blood Choctaw, and John Pitchlynn, an intermarried white man, selected the site for a new station, in the Northeast or Lower Towns District in what is now Oktibbeha County, Mississippi. This station was named Mayhew in memory of Thomas Mayhew, the first missionary to the Indians of New England, who in 1651 established at Martha's Vineyard the first school for Indians under "English auspices." Other stations were soon founded so that by 1828 the main stations of the American Board in Mississippi were Eliot, Mayhew, Emmaus, and Goshen, together with a number of substations and schools. Emmaus and Goshen were both in the Six Towns or South District, some fifty miles apart, near the Alabama line and about one hundred fifty miles south of Mayhew. Before removal no part of the Choctaw Nation was an unreasonable distance from a missionary school, and by 1828 some forty missionaries of the American Board were at work in various parts of the Choctaw domain.

Farming has already been mentioned as included in the courses of instruction at a mission school; and, of course, dairying, horticulture, animal husbandry, and related arts were taught. Besides agriculture, boys who were interested could learn blacksmithing and carpentry, while the girls were taught cooking and other household arts. Such instruction promoted the aim of giving to the Indians a mastery of the "useful arts of life." Just as the boys received practical experience on the farm and in the shops, the girls obtained practical training in the household arts by caring for the school kitchen, dining room, and other areas, and by making, mending, and washing their own and other clothing. All clothing and related necessities were furnished to the children. The Indian youngsters had little or no play time because, in addition to practical instruction, they were given the rudiments of a common school education in English, made more difficult because to them it was a foreign tongue, and any additional time was employed for drill in the Christian catechisms and the Scriptures.

The overall organization for instruction was the Lancastrian Plan, at the time widely employed in both western Europe and North America and which helped to pave the way for state-financed universal education in the modern world. A basic practice of the Plan was to use the brighter students to teach other students under the direction of an adult who was, hopefully, a master teacher. The boys and girls were taught in separate classes, as was the custom of the time. The most advanced classes were supposed to read the New Testament "with fluency and propriety," to recite from memory the most important parts of Genesis and Exodus, and to be well versed in the life of Christ. In addition, these students were expected to learn basic arithmetic and attain an acceptable knowledge of geography.

In the interest of discipline, the missionaries desired that their Choctaw students remain at the mission stations the entire school year, so that the children would be under their full supervision at all times.

A vacation period of two or three months in the summer and early fall was the only time the children could be with their parents. Since Choctaw children were not accustomed to the regimentation and corporal punishment which was part of the educational system instituted by the mission schools, many became unhappy with such discipline and runaways were not uncommon. Scholarly studies of the aboriginal Choctaw society invariably report little parental or other restraint being imposed on the children. A typical statement reads:

> . . . hence [Choctaw boys] indulged in any or all amusements their fancy might suggest . . . and one would . . . naturally infer that [they] would have been, when arrived at manhood, a set of desperadoes . . . . [However], no race of young people ever grew up to manhood . . . who were of a more quiet nature and peaceful disposition than the youths of the old Mississippi Choctaws.

Another statement was simply: "They never whip their children." And testimony to the innate Choctaw love of personal liberty is found in this excerpt from the writings of H. B. Cushman, prominent missionary:

> To them in youth as well as in advanced years . . . the dearest of all their earthly possessions . . . was their entire and unrestrained love of freedom . . . . Yet there seemed to exist in their own breasts a restraining influence, a counteracting power, that checked the ungoverned passions of their uncultivated natures through life, and kept them more within the bounds of prudence and reason, than any race of uneducated people I ever knew.

With such backgrounds, it is understandable that the institutional discipline was quite galling to the Indian youngsters and that problems would inevitably develop in this area. As early as 1822 Cyrus Kingsbury addressed the Choctaw Council on the subject, the gist of his statement indicating some of the problems encountered. The missionary insisted that parents must not take children out of school until the close of the term, that they must permit the missionaries to correct the children, and that parental visits to the schools not be too lengthy. Kingsbury's address was not well received at first, but when he pointed out that the missionaries received only a bare living and that much of the support for the schools came from the American Board, the assembled chieftains decided to give the mission effort better support than previously. But the problem of proper discipline for free-spirited Indian children confined in boarding schools, presently operated by a Bureau of Indian Affairs instead of an American Board, still exists.

Kingsbury also stated in 1822 that financial support for these early schools was provided not only by the American Board, but also by the Choctaw Nation, through direct appropriations from the Federal government, and by gifts from individual Choctaw citizens, usually prosperous mixed bloods. The bulk of the support was derived from the Board and the Choctaw Nation, however. One scholar states that by August 31, 1831, some thirteen years after the establishment of Eliot Mission and just as the removal of the Choctaw Nation to the West was getting under way, the total sum expended for operation of the Choctaw Mission of the American Board had reached approximately $140,000. Of this amount some $60,000 had been provided by the Board, another $60,000 had come from annuities received by the Choctaw Nation, and the remaining $20,000 had been appropriated by the Federal Government. Individual Choctaw gifts were not given a separate listing and perhaps were part of the $60,000 given as "annuities." For example, in 1819 Cyrus Kingsbury attended a Council of the Nation and presented the needs of the mission at Eliot. Pleased with what was being done, the assembled Choctaw leaders appropriated annuities amounting to $3,000 annually, donated another $1,800 in cash, and promised eighty cows and calves for support of the mission station. Funds furnished by the American Board derived from contributions of members of the various constituent churches which supported it. Most of the Board money was used for salaries and subsistence for the resident missionaries. A dedicated band, concerned with propagation of the Gospel rather than with laying up treasures on this earth, they received more "subsistence" than "salary."

It was in this period that Federal funds began to be appropriated by Congress for Indian education. In 1819, under pressure from their Christian constituents who were caught up in the wave of missionary fervor so widespread at the time, and from leaders like Secretary of War Calhoun who desired to expedite the education of the Indians so they could be more easily removed, Congress authorized an annual appropriation of $10,000 for an Indian Civilization Fund. Besides Calhoun, one of those chiefly responsible for establishment of this fund was Thomas L. McKenney. At the time McKenney was Superintendent of Indian Trade, but in 1824 was appointed by Secretary of War Calhoun to become the first head of the Office of Indian Affairs, later the Bureau of Indian Affairs. With no apparent qualms concerning constitutional provisions about the relationship of church and state, the War Department was authorized to establish procedures by which various missionary enterprises could secure aid for Indian education from the Civilization Fund.

Not all the money made available to the Choctaws for education during the 1820s was assigned to schools established by the American Board, since both Methodist, Baptist, and Cumberland Presbyterian missionaries began work among these Indians during this period. First mention of a Methodist school concerned a Methodist minister, named Wiley Ledbetter, who in 1824 persuaded the Choctaw chiefs to allow him to use one of the buildings where a school was being operated by the American Board. Ledbetter, naming his school Bethany, received the support of the chiefs when he promised to recruit more students than the American Board had attracted and board them himself. But when the matter was presented to the Federal government, the chiefs were told that they could not change school assignments in this manner and Ledbetter's project was discontinued. According to one account, Ledbetter, a member of the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist church, was dropped from Conference affiliation because of his part in the episode.

In 1827 the Mississippi Conference began its first successful work among the Choctaws when Alexander Talley, a doctor turned preacher, was sent to organize a mission among the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Perhaps Mr. Ledbetter had been reinstated by the Conference, because one source lists him as a principal promoter of the project. The location of Talley's work was the Northwest District and his most important convert was Greenwood Leflore, the mixed-blood district chief. In fact, by 1830 Talley reported that he had enrolled four thousand Methodists among the Choctaws, the result of a series of camp meetings. By comparison, the American Board reported only some three hundred conversions after thirteen years of labor among these Indians. A difference in philosophy concerning the meaning of Christian conversion may explain the large difference in the numbers of converts reported. Or perhaps it was a matter of priorities, of deciding which came first in the process of "civilizing" the Indians, education or salvation. It appears that the

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Methodist missionaries, as well as Baptist apostles to the Choctaws, tended to give precedence to salvation and agree with a minister of that day who advised the New York Missionary Society with these words:

> Instead of waiting till Civilization fits our Indian neighbors for the gospel, let us try whether the gospel will not be the most successful means of civilizing them . . . . One Christian institution alone, the holy sabbath, will go farther to civilize them in a year, than all human expedients in a century.

By contrast, missionaries of the American Board were concerned that their converts be literate, at least to the point that they could read the Bible either in Choctaw or English. These Protestant apostles emphasized the basic Calvinistic tenet that acceptance of the Scriptures was the sole standard of faith. They ascribed to the Gospel the miraculous power to produce conversions, but were convinced that the savage hand into which a Bible was placed should belong to a savage who knew how to read it. Robert Berkhofer made the point well in Salvation and the Savage by propounding a series of questions:

> Should not the convert be able to determine matters of salvation by himself by reference to the Supreme Source as revealed in the Holy Scriptures? Was not literacy required, and did not this necessitate the founding of schools? Furthermore, did not the Indians need an economic system that would support the requisite schools and churches? In short, was not civilization as well as religion necessary to the establishment of scriptural self-propagating Christianity?

It is not intended here to suggest that all Methodist and Baptist missionaries favored Christianizing first and educating second, or that all American Board missionaries promoted the opposite approach. It is true that the American Board workers emphasized the educational aspects of their effort, while the Methodists and Baptists were more likely to stress evangelism. But all established schools. In 1828, Alexander Talley reported for the Methodist Choctaw Mission that two schools were in operation. One, called "Old Queens," was in charge of Moses Perry, described by the Conference Minutes as a "loyal and dependable minister" who had married a Choctaw wife and become a "tribesman." The only information given for the second school was that its name was "Seneasher [?]." In 1829 the Minutes mentioned "four schools" among the Choctaws without further detail, so that this may have been the extent of the Methodist educational effort among the Choctaws before removal to Oklahoma. By comparison, the mission of the American Board in 1828 was conducting nine schools scattered across the Nation.

Other than the Methodists and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, no other religious groups established lasting schools within the limits of the Choctaw Nation before its removal West. The Cumberland Presbyterians in 1819 sent Samuel King and Robert Bell as evangelists to the Choctaws and Chickasaws. With the patronage of Levi Colbert, an influential mixed-blood Chickasaw, a school was opened in 1820 on Cotton Gin port on the Tombigbee River. Some Choctaws attended this institution in the Chickasaw country; at least the following excerpt from "Mrs. Bell's journal"--Mrs. Bell was the wife of Robert Bell, Cumberland Presbyterian missionary in charge of the school--indicates that perhaps Peter P. Pitchlynn and one or more of his brothers attended Charity Hall, as Bell's school was called. The journal entry for January 4, 1823, read:

> Mr. Pitchland [*sic*] has visited us again this day, soliciting us to take under our care another little son . . . but we were obliged to turn him off . . . for want of funds to furnish the necessary support.

As for the Baptists, they made an amazing contribution to early education for the Choctaws. But it was outside the Nation, as we shall see, at an institution in Kentucky commonly known as The Choctaw Academy.

III

THE CHOCTAW ACADEMY

Whether by deliberate plan or by chance is not clear, but the educational approach first adopted by Baptist missionary societies in their efforts to Christianize the Indians differed from that of either the American Board or the Methodist Mission. Much of the early Baptist work among the Choctaws and other Indians was concentrated on support of a boarding school for boys located at Great Crossing, about five miles west of Georgetown, Scott County, Kentucky, and far from the Choctaw country. The rationale appears to have been that potential Indian leaders could be more easily educated in the white man's culture if removed from the distractions of their home environments. The Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists states that the institution, later to be known as the Choctaw Academy, was "apparently founded in 1818 (although not by that name) by the Kentucky Baptist Missionary Society through the leadership of Richard M. Johnson." After this beginning the school was recognized by the Triennial Baptist Convention and received support from the Federal government as early as 1820. According to the Encyclopedia, Baptist work among the Choctaws in Mississippi did not begin until 1849, among those "Indians who had escaped deportation to . . . the West. . . ."

Richard Mentor Johnson (1781-1850) was a native-born Kentuckian of national repute. He entered politics as a young man, serving as a member of the Kentucky legislature, 1801-1806. He was then elected to membership in the United States House of Representatives and promoted to the United States Senate in 1819. Although of Kentucky birth, events of the election of 1824 caused him to desert Henry Clay and support Andrew Jackson for the remainder of his political career. It was Jackson who made Johnson vice-president under Van Buren, 1837-1841, after which time he retired to private life in Kentucky for a while. Politics was his way of life, however, and Johnson was a member of the Kentucky legislature when he died at Frankfort on November 9, 1850. Among other claims to fame, Johnson asserted that he had killed Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames during the War of 1812. A much-recited doggerel of the day, whose repetition constantly refreshed the public memory as to Johnson's alleged exploit, ran:

Rumpsey, dumpsey,
Hickory, crumpsey,
Colonel Johnson
Killed Tecumseh.

An active Baptist layman throughout his life, he took a lively interest in Baptist missionary and educational work among the Indians. Johnson donated buildings for the Academy on his land at Great Crossing, supplied a teacher, and became so involved with the project that the institution came to be referred to as "Colonel Johnson's Academy" as often as it was called the "Choctaw Academy."

Johnson long served as a member of the Board of Directors of the Kentucky Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. His position as a friend and supporter of Andrew Jackson, as well as that of United States Senator from Kentucky, gave him political clout for his promotion of Federal financial help for the new school for Indians. He enlisted support for his project by writing letters to Indian agents throughout the country, and by presenting petitions to Congress, from both the Baptist Triennial Convention and the Baptist Association of Missouri, which requested Federal financial aid for his Indian education project. During the same period, Thomas L. McKenney, Superintendent of

Indian Trade and later the first head of the Office of Indian Affairs, sent out a circular letter, dated February 10, 1819, to the many Federally licensed Indian traders, asking them to encourage Indian parents to send their children to the Baptist school at Great Crossing.

As United States senator, Johnson may have been instrumental, along with Calhoun and McKenney, in securing passage of the Congressional appropriation known as the Indian Civilization Fund. In any case he undoubtedly knew about the Fund and kept himself informed concerning all possible sources of financial support for his Academy, Federal or otherwise. It is not surprising, therefore, to find an item in a report of John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, dated February 23, 1820, which read:

> Paid to Richard M. Johnson (under act for Indian Civilization Fund) $250 for tuition of Indian children at the school established by the Baptist Board for Foreign Missions at Great Crossing, Kentucky, for the year 1820 (paid to Col. Johnson as agent of the Board).

The first Baptist missionary contacts with the Choctaw Nation seem to have been in 1819 when two representatives of the Baptist General Missionary Convention, Rev. John A. Ficklin and Rev. Stark Dupuy, visited the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations to promote Baptist mission work. As one result, Ficklin reported that he returned to Kentucky with eight Indian youths who entered the school near Great Crossing; the report did not indicate whether or not these were Choctaw. Actually, any real support of Johnson's Academy by the Choctaw Nation, either with funds or students in numbers large enough to justify "Choctaw Academy" as the name of the institution, did not materialize until January 20, 1825, and the completion of the treaty signed in Washington by the Choctaw delegation which had lost the leadership of both Pushmataha and Apukshunnubbee.

The chief signer of the 1825 treaty for the United States was John C. Calhoun, still Secretary of War but soon to be inaugurated vice-president. Undoubtedly both Thomas L. McKenney and Senator Richard M. Johnson had followed the negotiations closely and knew of the provisions for educational funds. Whatever the reasons, the Choctaw delegation, then headed by Mushulatubbee, recommended to the Secretary that a portion of the $6,000 annuity provided by Article II of the 1825 treaty to be used for the education of several Choctaw youths at Johnson's Academy. This was authorized, as was nominal control of the institution by the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. Another contact for Senator Johnson, said to be "always interested in any venture that might prove profitable," was William Ward. Ward, United States agent to the Choctaws in 1825, was a relative of Johnson's and a native of Scott County, Kentucky. His influence was very useful in recruiting Choctaw students for the Academy and influencing native Choctaw leaders to support the institution.

Of great importance in securing Choctaw support for the Kentucky school was the influence of Peter Perkins Pitchlynn, of one-quarter Choctaw blood and the firstborn son of John Pitchlynn, veteran interpreter, and John's second wife, Sophia Folsom. In 1825 young Pitchlynn was only nineteen, but had acquired some formal education, both inside and outside the Choctaw Nation, and a small but select library on such subjects as moral philosophy, poetry (especially Shakespeare), history, biography, Choctaw mythology, medicine, and natural philosophy. Convinced that the preservation of the Choctaw people depended on adoption of the white man's ways, young Pitchlynn also believed that potential Choctaw leaders should attend schools located among the whites, from which they could return to educate their own people. His personal experience with schools inside the Choctaw country strengthened the conviction that the only way to learn the white man's culture was to live in a white environment. Strangely, although Peter's father John had been instrumental in the establishment of Mayhew mission station near the Pitchlynn home in 1821, and Cyrus Kingsbury, superintendent of the Choctaw Mission, had performed the Christian ceremony when Peter married Rhoda Folsom in 1824, Peter neither attended nor supported the schools of the American Board.

Whatever the reasons, Pitchlynn's district, of which Mushulatubbee, reportedly a relative of Pitchlynn, was chief, was the first to send students to Johnson's school. Pitchlynn himself was in charge of the party of twenty young Choctaws, aged eight to seventeen, which left the Choctaw country on October 15, 1825, bound for Kentucky. Pitchlynn did not enroll in the Academy at this time, but did attend for three months in the spring of 1827 to study grammar, surveying, bookkeeping, geography, reading, and writing. However, by 1828 Pitchlynn ceased to be a supporter of the institution and began the agitation which finally led to withdrawal of Choctaw support from what had properly been named in 1825 the Choctaw Academy. This title was a misnomer to some extent. Although the Choctaw Nation was its chief supporter until 1842, there were always students from several other Indian tribes enrolled at the Academy.

The establishment which welcomed the Choctaw students was described by Colonel Johnson in a letter of September 27, 1825, to the War Department:

> . . . I have a house with three rooms 20 x 30 feet which I shall appropriate exclusively to their accommodation. I have another house with four rooms 20 feet square which will do for the Teacher to live in & one room for the school—the whole establishment will be within my own fences so that no time shall be lost; the Indians

> will be here by the 15th of Oct. I am, now preparing to receive them—my workmen are fixing Tables, Banches, Chairs & &. I have engaged a Teacher of uncommon merit [Thomas Henderson]—a scientific character, and in the habit of Teaching from the ABC he is a man of moral character; a Preacher of the gospel, of industrious habits and dignified manners. I shall have all things ready to receive them by the 12th of next month or sooner—We shall have as many white children to be taught with them to learn them to speak English Language as well as to learn them to read & & &.
>
> During my stay at home each year I shall devote much of my time towards establishing to them habits that will govern them through life. . . I intend to have them well fed, well clothed and well educated . . . . I would rather a gross sum would be allowed for each scholar per annum to Include every expense so as to have no contingencies. . . I shall see that a faithful part is done the Indians . . . It will not do to extend any more patronage to the Schools [American Board] in that nation—they have appropriated other funds to those missionary schools & they do not see the benefit that I know will result to this place. We shall have trustees appointed to report the progress from time to time . . . .

The teacher selected by Johnson was the Reverend Thomas Henderson, related to Johnson by marriage. Henderson taught and acted as superintendent of the Academy from 1825 almost until its final closing about 1845. Born in Virginia in 1781, he was a merchant of Scott County, Kentucky, as well as an ordained Baptist clergyman. For many years Henderson acted as confidential adviser, faithful friend, and manager of the Academy for Johnson; he bore the brunt of problems in Kentucky while Johnson was in Washington serving as Senator and Vice-President. He retired from the superintendency of the Academy soon after withdrawal of the last Choctaw students in the spring of 1842, and died four years later on his farm in Grant County, Kentucky, aged sixty-five. Surely the Choctaws and other Indians whose ancestors received their educations under the tutelage of this mild and humane gentlman should revere his memory.

A number of Choctaw leaders adopted Johnson's disparaging attitude toward the schools of the American Board, as evidenced by his recommendation that Federal support for them be discontinued, and the missionaries of the American Board found it necessary to reply. First mention of the Johnson school by the Choctaw Mission of the American Board appeared in the 1825 report to Boston:

> The Choctaw Academy, which derives its support from the appropriation of one of the annuities, and which was intended to be placed within the limits of the Choctaw territory, has been established at Grand Crossing, Kentucky, under the care of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. The number of scholars is between 25 and 30, a large portion of whom were taken from the Mission schools of this board.

In the report of 1828, a defense of the American Board schools appeared, written by Cyrus Kingsbury, superintendent of the Choctaw Mission. Kingsbury mentioned that "some advances have been made in teaching the Choctaw language, at nearly all stations" but admitted that the "progress of knowledge" had not been all that had been hoped for and that Choctaw support for the American Board schools had lessened. "Their hopes," wrote Kingsbury, "are now much fixed upon the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, where it is stated, the pupils are much pleased with the treatment they receive, and are making good proficiency in their studies."

The necessity to defend their efforts of nearly a decade must have been galling to Kingsbury and the American Board workers. The success of the students in Kentucky was explained by the fact that "these pupils were generally taken from among the most forward scholars under the care of this Board" and were therefore well prepared for more advanced study. Further, Kingsbury's report noted that in Kentucky they "were not required to labor with their hands, in the intervals of study, as has been the practice at all the mission schools." After defending the inclusion of "some kind of agricultural or mechanical labor" in the school requirements, mention was made that the labor requirement had previously been a cause of dissatisfaction since ". . . all children, especially children who have known little parental government, are much fonder of play than labor . . . ." The statement concluded with the hope that the Choctaw Academy would "fully answer the expectations of its friends" and that "advances may be made in the great work of evangelizing and civilizing the American Indians by every experiment intended for their benefit."

Some of the troubles of the schools of the American Board during the 1820s may have derived from the fact that all resident missionaries became suspects as the Choctaws were subjected to increasing pressure for removal from Mississippi. Mushulatubbee, who had supported the Choctaw Academy from its inception, was the first signer of a letter of complaint to President Jackson, dated December 23, 1830, only a few months after the signing of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, and one can speculate that the Indians would not have written such a letter prior to the removal treaty. It is also true that Mushulatubbee barred the missionaries from his district in the West after removal. The letter read in part:

> . . . we are obligated to write to you that we as a comparison has been in a habit of hireing men which if he performed we paid him well if not we turned him off without any pay we have employed and payed those Yankee Missionarys for twelve years for which we have Recd. no compensation we have never Recd. a Scholar out of

> their Schools that was able to keep a grog shop Book when we found that we could get nothing from them we Established an academy in Kentucky under the direction of the president and the Superintendence of R. M. Johnson from which we have Recd. a great number of first Rate Scholars . . . .

In addition to Mushulatubbee's "X mark" were those of Oklabbee and Ispiahhomah, while Charles King, James M. King, Hiram King, Peter King, and M. Mackey, "U. S. Intr.," also affixed signatures.

Of course, Mushulatubbee may have been susceptible to certain blandishments which Colonel Johnson, as a practicing politician, knew well how to administer and which staunch idealists like Kingsbury refused to employ. In evidence is a bill from Henderson to the Secretary of War, dated October 14, 1829, which read:

> Please pay to Richard M. Johnson . . . $53.50 for the chief Mushulatubbe [sic] and his interpreter M. Mackey of the Choctaw Nation during their stay at this school on a visit to inspect its condition . . . .

Also included was a list of clothing which included "boots, socks, panteloons, saddle & saddle blanket, flannel shirt & bill for board for Mushulatubbee & Mackey." No evidence has been uncovered to indicate that Kingsbury or any of the other missionaries ever spent funds to entertain visiting chiefs at their establishments. In all fairness, the old full-blood chief should not be singled out as a dupe, because as chief it was good for him to see how his District's money was being spent for education.

Likewise, he was not the only chief who received expense money for inspection trips. In reply to an inquiry from the Secretary of

War concerning dissatisfaction with the terms upon which the Choctaw Academy had been established, Greenwood Leflore, mixed-blood chief of the Northwest District, wrote the Secretary of War on January 9, 1828:

> The Nation made the selection of the place you fixed the terms and we approved them and consider them reasonable and just and a benefit to the Nation and as the School is Established at our request and upon our money we hope that the Experiment now making will not be interfered with from any quarter as it would certainly greatly Injour the future prospects of Educating our Children in a manner to be of Service to this Nation.
>
> I have visited the school & I know the manner in which it is conducted and the manner in which our Children are treated. I am perfectly satisfied with the Establishment in its present form And although it is probable that we could get our children Taught Something cheaper yet we do not wish to put out their Education to the Lowest Bidder and if we were to do it we do not know that we Should profit by it.

Such items as the following receipt from the records of the Choctaw Academy provide evidence that Leflore once received adequate expense money for a visit to the Academy and strongly suggest that Mushulatubbee courted his support for the institution:

> This 9th day of Oct. 1829 Received of Thomas Henderson by the hands of Richard M. Johnson one hundred and fifty dollars which is to cover expences to this school & back to the nation which we consider a small allowance in the case of Col. Greenwood Leflore a chief of our nation. . .
>
> Mushuletubbe (I) His X Mark
>
> M. Mackey

Indians other than Choctaws were always enrolled in the Academy, although the Choctaws usually outnumbered all others combined. For example, a report dated November 22, 1826, listed an enrollment of eighty-seven—fifty-three Choctaws, thirteen Creeks, one Potawatomi, and twenty white boys. White students from the vicinity were included in the student body as part of the plan for teaching the Indians the ways of the white man. The white families of the neighborhood were pleased to have their sons attend the institution, if favorable comments from white parents found in the school records can be believed. It is possible, of course, that unfavorable reports somehow disappeared. A report dated November 1, 1829, soon after an inspection visit by Chief Mushulatubbee, named ninety-one Indian students. The number of white students was not given, but the Indians names included fifty-five Choctaws, twenty-five Creeks, ten "Putawatomies," and one Shawnee. Among the Creek names appeared "Richd. M. Johnson," reputedly a son of the noted Creek full-blood chief, Opothleyahola. This is an example of the custom, adopted almost universally by Indian mission schools, whereby the names of noted white men were assigned to Indian children. Actually it was a phase of the system which was working to change the aborigines from Indians into white men. Other names found on various rolls of the Academy included such illustrious ones as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Alexander Pope, William Harrison, William Bryant, Daniel Webster, Andrew Jackson, and Benjamin Franklin, along with those of lesser lights such as Thomas L. McKenney, first head of the Office of Indian Affairs.

A student roster for August, 1832, named 115 Indians in attendance. The breakdown by tribes included sixty-five Choctaws, three Creeks, sixteen Potawatomis, ten Miamis, eight Seminoles, four Quapaws, and nine "Prairie du Chien." This last group, since there was no Indian tribe actually known by this name, referred to boys sent from the Prairie du

Chien Agency in Wisconsin. Probably these were Winnebagoes since there was a Winnebago school at Prairie du Chien. However, other tribes, such as the Sac and Fox, were also under that Agency. A quarterly report for October 21, 1834, is of special interest because it is the only list discovered which attempted to judge the quality of mind possessed by each boy in the opinion of Mr. Henderson. The categories of "mind" used were sprightly, promising, good, ordinary, and dull. Of the 136 students listed, the sixty-two Choctaws were rated thus: sprightly, 1; promising, 1; good, 39; ordinary, 18; and dull, 3. Fifteen Cherokees were rated: promising, 1; good, 12; ordinary, 2. Twenty-four Potawatomis: promising, 1; good, 19; ordinary, 3; dull, 1. Eight Miamis: good, 5; ordinary, 1; dull, 2. Eight Seminoles: good, 4; ordinary, 4. Four Quapaws: good, 3; ordinary, 1. Fifteen Creeks: good, 9; ordinary, 6. The "sprightly" Choctaw was a twenty-two-year-old named William Trahern.

The largest enrollments at the Academy were during the 1830s. In July, 1835, the total was 146, which included sixty-six Choctaws, eighteen Potawatomis, six Miamis, six Seminoles, four Quapaws, fifteen Creeks, twelve Cherokees, and nineteen Chickasaws. For October, 1838, one hundred fifty-two Indian students were listed with approximately the same tribal numbers as for July, 1835, plus an additional six "Chicagas." Also, an occasional Indian lad was reported from tribes not mentioned in the lists cited above, as an Osage or Ottawa. An Office of Indian Affairs report for November 18, 1835, gave the enrollment as 163, the largest during the existence of the Academy. This enumeration, in addition to sixty-six Choctaws, showed six Miamis, eighteen Potawatomis, six Seminoles, four Quapaws, fifteen Creeks, twelve Cherokees, nineteen Chickasaws, and seventeen "Sacs, Foxes, Ioways, and others." After this time, for reasons which will be discussed later, the Academy began to decline. By 1840 complaints concerning the operation of the school began to mount and as the tribes were moved west of the Mississippi after 1830, they desired schools closer to home. By April 11, 1840, the enrollment had fallen to 107. Before the school was closed, in the late 1840s, the Baptists had already begun to work among the Choctaws in their new homeland west of the Mississippi.

Just as the American Board schools had done, Colonel Johnson adopted the Lancastrian method of instruction, hoping thereby to increase the efficiency of the institution. On June 28, 1828, Robert Ould, who had been employed as consultant to organize the Academy "upon the Lancastrian System" arrived to begin his work. Mr. Ould, who had received his training in England under Joseph Lancaster himself, worked especially with Superintendent Thomas Henderson and four of the older Indian boys who had been selected as monitors. Both Johnson and Ould made favorable reports to the Secretary of War concerning the success of their effort. Ould's report, dated July 16, 1828, praised the school, speaking of the "great and rapid progress" of the Indian scholars and commenting that they were "decent and orderly" in appearance, and "generally healthy, contented, obedient and clean in their clothing . . . ." After remarking on the fact that "many of these youths have made an open and public profession of religion, [becoming] regular members of the sundry respectable denominations which prevail in the neighborhood," he concluded that, "This institution at once (and I hope for ever) sets aside the old and musty idea that the sons of the forest are incapable of civilization."

The complaint of the American Board missionaries, that students at the Choctaw Academy were not required to do any manual labor, was true at first. The schedule for a typical day ran somewhat as follows. A drum was beaten "early in the morning to rouse the boys, who dressed quickly and reported to the school room for roll call." After singing and prayer, classes were held until nine o'clock, when a half hour was allowed for breakfast. At noon the boys "were dismissed two hours for amusement." Later in the afternoon another half hour was taken for dinner, and the "days business" ended just before sundown with memory assignments being made for recitation the next morning. The subjects taught included reading, writing, and spelling (in English, of course), English grammar, arithmetic and algebra, geography, surveying (one of Henderson's skills), astronomy, vocal music, and natural and moral philosophy. An 1834 list of textbooks used for instruction named these: "Pike's Arithmetic, Emerson's Readers, Kirkham's Grammar, Olney's Geography, Tyler's History, Blake's Philosophy, Colburn's Algebra, Gibson's Surveying, and the American Spelling Books."

The criticism by Kingsbury that the educational program at the Choctaw Academy was deficient because the boys "were not required to labor with their hands" was met at least partially by additions to the curriculum soon after 1830. In fact, since the annuity money which supported the institution was intended, as Kingsbury pointed out, to emphasize "instruction in the mechanic and ordinary arts of life," Johnson and Henderson were compelled to add such programs or lose the Choctaw subsidies. The Academy was moved to a new location at this time; although likely, a connection between the move and the addition of mechanic arts to the program is not clear. The original site was on the Blue Spring farm of Colonel Johnson, the chief buildings being of stone construction. In his quarterly report for October 31, 1830, Superintendent Henderson informed the Secretary of War of a change in location to another of Johnson's farms near another spring, according to Henderson "one of the best springs in Kentucky" and named White Sulphur. The report stated that:

> . . . we have erected another school house about one and a half miles from the former. It is built in a small beautiful grove . . . And in point of convenience is second to none I ever saw . . . The situation is retired. Every facility the mind could desire is here afforded for study and improvement. The principal object in moving the Academy to this place was to be more convenient to fuel.

The new Academy buildings were of log construction. Henderson described the main building with these words: "The 2d academy was a log building--2 logs in length--as long as they could get the logs--with short logs to make them splice." The dimensions of the two-story structure, divided into "4 convenient rooms with a good fire place in each," was fifty feet by twenty-four feet.

Undoubtedly the addition of mechanic arts to the curriculum increased the demand for fuel, since the number of students was increased and the new furnaces and forges required fuel in addition to that used for heating the school and for cooking. In November, 1833, Henderson noted that:

> . . . no department . . . of the institution has excited more admiration than the recent introduction of workshops, connecting practical arts and sciences together--particularly for that race of the human family who have so long suffered for the want of both.

Instruction had begun that fall, he reported, in three trades for which workshops had been completed, and skilled workmen, "of steady and sober habits," had been employed as instructors. A "Wagon" shop made wagons, carts, and stocks for ploughs; in another frame building shoes were manufactured; and two "Smith Shops," small log buildings, provided three furnaces and other equipment for training blacksmiths. No mention was found that agriculture was taught to or practiced by the Indian students, but a tailor shop was added in 1835 so that four trades were taught during the later years of the Academy's existence. After paying costs of materials and incidental expenses, Henderson stated that:

> The entire profits of the shops are divided among the students for their sole benefit, to supply them with any reasonable extra sums . . . for clothing & to enable them at the close of their education to carry with them a surplus fund home to enable them to purchase books, and the tools & instruments for their trade . . . .

Clothing was furnished the students and originally the Secretary of War suggested two coats for each boy, one to be a "frock or Rifle Coat of domestic cloth at $12.00" and another of "coloured domestic cotton at $4.00." Other suggested articles of clothing included two pairs of woolen stockings for fifty cents; a dress hat, $2.50; and an everyday cap, fifty cents. Colonel Johnson seems to have followed the above instructions fairly well. In 1828 he wrote:

> . . . I have ever since the first year purchased the principal part of the clothing ready made at Philadelphia & the materials such as the War Dept. pointed out & made up by the Taylors who clothe the officers & soldiers of our army . . . .

The boys wore out their shoes or outgrew them, as boys will, so that some needed three or four pairs in a year. At first "store shoes" were furnished, but they proved unsatisfactory and Colonel Johnson then began to provide the boys custom-made shoes fashioned by "the best workmen, and out of the best kind of leather." Presumably, much of the required clothing and shoes was fabricated at the school after the installation of the tailoring and shoe shops. A report in 1834 estimated that for each scholar the cost of winter clothing was $46.22, and for summer clothing, $31.86. Henderson once wrote, in reply to criticism of the clothing issues, "as regards their clothing I say upon honor that they are not surpassed by the children of the best farmers in the country. . . ." So perhaps Johnson was not far from the truth when he complained, "I have never received as profit equal to the hire of my slaves & the rent of my houses."

Although there were complaints regarding the meals served at the Academy, for that day and time the menus were not out of line. Johnson stated in 1828 that "their diet consists of such things as I eat at my own table" with the exception of such items as preserves, easy to provide for a small family but not for a "large establishment." He continued:

> . . . they have been uniformly supplied with the best of Bacon, Beef, Mutton, baked & boiled—soup, corn bread, & wheat bread, the best of coffee, pies, apple dumplings, molasses, milk, shoat Baked & Boiled, Beans, Cabbage, potatoes, Turnips, salads, peas, hommony, great & small, Butter when to be had, --besides other scarce articles rice & & . . . I will say without the fear to contradiction that uniformly the above articles have been furnished abundantly & properly—sufficient left generally to feed 25 slaves . . . .

The above would indicate that Johnson fed the boys much better than he was required to do by the War Department. In 1826 Secretary of War James Barbour suggested a "Bill of Fare for Breakfast and Supper and Dinner" which would make the eyebrows of a modern dietitian run, not just crawl. Barbour's list ordered "Tea or Coffee, or Milk & Sugar, with Bread &

Butter for breakfast and supper," while dinner was to consist of "Meat and vegetables, Salt Meat at least twice a week, and hominy in season."

In his reports Henderson invariably commented on the good deportment of his Indian pupils. Written in 1826, the following indicates Henderson's point of view concerning discipline and how to maintain it.

> The boys are lively and cheerful, peaceable and well disposed, easily governed and ambitious to excell. I have not had occasion to chastise any of them yet, nor indeed, seldom to call any to account for misconduct. My method is when occasion requires it, in the most determined and solemn manner to talk to the offender in the presence of the whole school calling them my sons, and in the most tender and affectionate manner point out the evil consequences resulting from bad conduct and a disregard to order; and the benefits resulting from good behavior. . . . In some of the lectures I have seen the tears flow freely . . . . The improvements they have made far exceeded my most sanguine expectation. . . .

But Henderson also found it necessary to spend an hour or two at their "lodging room after dark each day . . . to see that no disorder takes place among them." One receives the impression that corporal punishment was not practiced as commonly at the Choctaw Academy as by the schools of the American Board.

He also involved the students in their own government and discipline by instituting a "Lycurgus Court," named for the austerely pious Athenian statesman who, driven by the mission to raise the level of public and private morals, rigorously prosecuted public malefactors. According to Henderson the court consisted of a "grand-jury, a Judge, sherriff, two lawyers and clerk." The "grand-jury" took notice of "every species of misconduct" during recess and all periods when the boys were not in school and made "presentments" at the regular sessions of the Court.

This was probably an effective means for training the young Indians in the workings of the white man's system of law and justice. Other extra-curricular organizations were instituted which were intended to develop an ability to live satisfactorily in the white man's world. Among these were a debating society, to strengthen "the mind thinking and speaking . . . and writing correctly"; a "Singing Society" which met on Saturdays; a Sunday School which, combined with Henderson's weekly lectures on religion and morality and attendance on public worship, were "productive of much good"; and a "Neolian" [?] Society, whose principal object was to "instruct the young men in all the peculiarities of etiquet observed in the polite circles of Society."

It is obvious that in his promotion of the basic goal of the Institution, to make white men out of the potential Indian leaders, Henderson missed few opportunities for bringing the Indian boys into contact with all phases of white society. Inclusion of white boys from the neighborhood within the student body has been mentioned. Attendance at public worship was required each Sabbath day, often in the churches of the surrounding white community as well as at the Academy. In 1828 Henderson reported that:

> . . . men of science and literature, as well as the clergy have lectured the boys in the most suitable and appropriate way, to prompt them to study, to piety and in a word, to pursue that course calculated to make them distinguished people.

He further remarked that neither he nor Colonel Johnson missed the opportunity to invite "preachers of the presbyterian, baptist, and methodist [faiths], to preach at the Academy" and was pleased that a number of the Indian boys had made "an open profession of religion and ornamented this profession by a very orderly walk since . . . ."

In an 1828 communication to David Folsom, Colonel Johnson noted the involvement with white society thus:

> If anything the Boys have been too much interrupted with the best of company, great meetings religious & political & social that we have every year often & over, they have every chance to go to meetings & many are in the habit of visiting the neighbours, Great Crossing & Georgetown, on all great & public-occasions. Every year we have carried the students 2 weeks to a watering place for health, pleasure and company. Their manners are considerably polished & [they] know how to behave & keep company as well as our White Boys--these are stubborn facts & if they were to study more & take less time for this intercourse with the whites it would be equally valuable in my humble opinion.

In 1842, for reasons which will be examined later, the Choctaw Nation withdrew support, both money and students, from the Choctaw Academy. This action of the Choctaws was a deathblow to the Academy, since Choctaw funds and students furnished the majority of the resources which kept the institution going. Moreover, other Indian Nations soon followed the example of the Choctaws.

An evaluation of the impact of the Choctaw Academy on the future, not only of the Choctaws but of American Indian policy and succeeding generations, is not easily calculable. One scholar recently made this judgment:

> [The Choctaw Academy] adopted advanced educational methods, especially in safeguarding [the health of its pupils] and by incorporating mechanical training and similar subjects into the course of study . . . . It anticipated by a hundred years the modern summer schools and camps.

Another has pointed out the tremendous contribution made by the Academy "to the advancement of the Indians in civilizing and Christianizing them." As for its effects on the Choctaws in particular, the testimony of Henry C. Benson, a Methodist missionary and teacher to the Choctaws after their removal to Oklahoma, is worth consideration. In 1860 Benson wrote:

> The Choctaw Academy did a vast amount of good; the best men we saw in the nation had there received their education. They were active, intelligent and earnest men, who still live to bless their race by their efficient labors in the work of civilization.

Benson was correct. From among the Choctaws educated in the Academy came leaders afterwards noted in Choctaw history. And finally the Academy provided a pattern for these leaders to follow when they established a Choctaw educational system after removal from Mississippi to the West.

IV

FIRST SCHOOLS IN THE WEST

During the 1830s, while the Choctaw Academy flourished outside the Nation and educated future leaders, the Choctaw Nation proper was being uprooted and removed from the ancestral lands in Mississippi and Alabama. All Choctaw institutions, including the mission schools, suffered from the resulting shock and disorder. But the characteristic resilience of this sturdy people was exhibited by their ability to recover quickly and rebuild a strong society in the West. Possibly this recovery from a tragic experience, during which it has been estimated that as many as one fourth of those who left the East to travel to the new homeland died en route, was fostered by the hope that the Choctaw Nation might be preserved in the West to become eventually a territory or state of the United States. Evidence of this hope may be found in Article XXII of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, which stated that the "Chiefs of the Choctaws [,] who have suggested that their people are in a state of rapid advancement in education and refinement," desired a delegate in the United States Congress. Perhaps even a full blood like Mushulatubbee saw merit in the proposal for an Indian Territory or state. At least he seems to have entertained seriously the thought of running for Congress while still in Mississippi; he went so far as to announce for office, but did not actually stand for election. Removal treaties with other Indians, notably the Cherokees, requested a Congressional delegate, but Congress never saw fit to grant such representation to any Indian nation. Such an act would have been a step toward recognition of the Indian nation as a territory of the United States, and the next development logically would have been statehood.

In fact, the concept of one or more Indian states or territories dates back at least to 1778 and one of the first treaties made by the infant United States with an Indian tribe, the Delawares. The idea of a "State, exclusively Indian," continued to crop up in the course of Federal relations with the Indians from that time on. Beginning in 1826 and continuing until his death in 1846, the great Baptist Missionary to the Indians, Isaac McCoy, worked for the establishment of a haven of refuge, an Indian Territory, in which the Indians could be colonized, presumably for their education in the white man's culture and eventual absorption as citizens of an Indian state of the Union. This idea coincided somewhat with Calhoun's policy, previously discussed, and was possibly in the minds of most Protestant missionaries, when they surveyed the situation of the Indians in the 1820s and 1830s, as the most practical means of saving the aborigines from extermination. Between 1832 and 1838 a number of bills were introduced into Congress to implement this concept by establishing an "Indian Territory" in the West. All failed. It has been suggested that the true purpose of these bills was to influence the Cherokees East under John Ross, who were resisting removal during those years, and to keep all Indians loyal to the United States in case of war with Mexico.

The dilemma of the missionaries to the Choctaws is clear. Most saw removal as the only physical salvation for the Indians to whom they were dedicating their lives. But they could also understand and sympathize with the passionate attachment of the Choctaws to the land of their fathers, the soil on which they had been born, which had nurtured them, and which they loved. Inevitably the missionaries themselves became divided, some favoring removal, and others trying to remain neutral, at least, in the conflict which divided the Indians. It is an oversimplification, perhaps, but many have believed that the Methodist and Baptist missionaries were likely to favor removal while those of the American Board attempted to remain neutral, or even to oppose removal. The Baptist mission effort, largely centered outside the Choctaw Nation at Johnson's Academy in Kentucky, was least directly affected by the relocation of the Indians. The Methodist work had barely begun by 1830 so that removal was not too great a problem for those missionaries. There was also obvious truth in the argument advanced by those favoring removal that only by this action would the Indians be "saved from the contaminating influences always found on the frontier." But for the American Board, with its numerous stations well established, the effect of removal was to raise the critical questions: should the work with the Choctaws be removed west? should the stations remain in Mississippi to serve the Choctaws who failed to remove? or should the Choctaw Mission be discontinued altogether? Cyrus Kingsbury and most of the American Board missionaries hoped that removal would never come to pass, because they believed, as Muriel Wright has stated it, that removal would "retard the progress and interest of the . . . Indians in their own improvement." But their hopes were dashed and the Indians were removed.

A series of events in 1830 forced the Choctaws to make the final decision on removal. On January 18, 1830, the laws of the state of Mississippi were extended over the Choctaw Nation by act of the state legislature, and President Jackson refused to use the Federal power to protect the Indians from white encroachment. Instead Jackson secured passage of the Indian Removal Act, signed it into law on June 30, and used the Federal power to force Choctaw acceptance of removal.

Under these pressures factionalism became acute and parties developed among the Choctaws. One, known as the "Christian" or "Despotic" party, was led by mixed bloods, such as Greenwood Leflore, chief of the Northwest District; David Folsom, chief of the Northeast District between 1826 and 1830; and John Garland, who tried to assume leadership of the South or Six Towns District. In March, 1830, after a visit to the Cherokee country which convinced him that removal of all Indian nations to the West was unavoidable, Greenwood Leflore tried to make himself principal chief, with the assent of Folsom and Garland, in order to promote removal. Removal was actually voted at a meeting of the Choctaw General Council in April, 1830. A removal treaty, reportedly prepared for Leflore, a Methodist convert, by Alexander Talley, the leading Methodist missionary among the Choctaws, was sent to Washington. In May President Jackson presented this minority treaty to the United States Senate but recommended its rejection since he was convinced that, in the words of Arthur H. De Rosier, Jr.:

> . . . such a treaty could easily become a model to be used in all future negotiations for Indian lands, the terms of which should be more advantageous to the United States; otherwise, similar concessions to other eastern tribes would bankrupt the government.

When the Senate rejected the treaty, the leadership of Leflore and the other mixed bloods was discredited for the time being and led to the election of full-blood chiefs in the Northeast and South districts.

Mushulatubbee displaced Folsom in the Northeast and became the leader of the Choctaw full bloods across the Nation, who called themselves the "Republican" party. The party name signified opposition to the "Despotic" party and Greenwood Leflore, characterized as "intelligent and ambitious" by his friends but as "arrogant and autocratic" by his opponents. Perhaps "Republican" fitted Mushulatubbee as poorly as it did Leflore, for the old full blood had been deposed by David Folsom as district chief in 1826 on the grounds that he was a drunkard, tyrannical, and too much under the influence of the United States. Although a full blood, Mushulatubbee lived like a white man, except for his two wives. He owned eleven slaves, large herds of horses and cattle, and cultivated some acres of land. In all fairness, more needs to be said concerning Mushulatubbee. There may have been two Mushulatubbees, possibly father and son, who have been confused by historians and considered as one man. Most students of Choctaw history would probably agree, however, that the name applied to only one man, who was born in Mississippi in 1770 and died in Oklahoma on August 3, 1838. The name, by the way, derived from "amushulti-t-ubi," meaning "killer or warrior who persists or perseveres." The Mushulatubbee who signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek moved to Oklahoma about 1831. He has been described as "one of the most brilliant orators" the Choctaws ever produced and a chief who "ruled . . . his people with justice." Of powerful build, very erect in carriage as he moved with a "haughty, majestic gait," he was a popular leader possessed of great personal magnetism, although his popularity never rivaled that of Pushmataha.

In the South District, Nitakechi, full-blood nephew of Pushmataha, strengthened his hold on the district chiefship, which had been threatened by John Garland, and joined Mushulatubbee in opposition to Leflore and his plans. The two parties almost began a civil war in the summer of 1830 when Leflore, at the head of 1500 warriors, marched two hundred miles into Mushulatubbee's District in an effort to force recognition of

Leflore as principal chief. Not all of Leflore's men were armed, but some five hundred carried muskets while others brandished war clubs, spears, and knives. Mushulatubbee, backed by a thousand men, of whom only two or three hundred bore arms, was intimidated; tentatively, he agreed to resign as chief of the Northeast District and to allow a successor to be freely elected. Further, along with Nitakechi of the South District, Mushulatubbee supposedly recognized Leflore's claim to be principal chief. When Leflore returned to his own district, however, Mushulatubbee quietly continued in office and he and Nitakechi persisted in their opposition to Leflore and his plans. In reality, it is somewhat misleading to indicate that any of the chiefs mentioned were steadfast in opposing or favoring removal. At one time or another between 1820 and 1830 each chief shifted his position on the question. And finally Greenwood Leflore, Mushulatubbee, and Nitakechi together became the first three Choctaw signers of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek on September 27, 1830.

Their signatures did not conceal the atmosphere of factionalism and confusion which had developed prior to signing of the treaty. Obviously, by September of 1830 the pressures for removal were so great from all sides that practically all Choctaw leaders, including Mushulatubbee and Nitakechi, saw no possibility for successful opposition. An estimated six thousand Choctaws, men, women, and children, gathered at the Dancing Rabbit Creek site near what is now Mashulaville, Mississippi, in Noxubbee County near the Alabama line. The site was close to one of two homes maintained by Mushulatubbee, each of whose wives had a separate abode. Significantly, the United States Commissioners, Secretary of War John H. Eaton and General John Coffee, ordered all missionaries away from the treaty ground on the pretext that "the presence of the missionaries would be improper" since the Indians and the Commissioners were "negotiating a treaty--not holding divine services." Eaton and Coffee feared that the influence of the missionaries would prevent successful treaty negotiations, but an additional possibility is that Mushulatubbee, who had no love for the "Yankee Missionaries," might have demanded their removal.

Ironically, no other whites were excluded from the treaty grounds. Arthur H. De Rosier, Jr., has described the scene in these words:

> By mid-September the Indians began flocking to the treaty ground, followed by the worst elements of white society. Gamblers, saloonkeepers, frontier rowdies, and prostitutes, all interested in separating the Indians from their meager possessions, established themselves on one side of the treaty ground and plied their trade under the assumed protection of the United States government. An army captain wrote to his wife: 'I never saw so many kinds of gambling as was going on when the treaty was being negotiated. Faro tables were numerous and the whites and the Indians were betting promiscuously . . . . Two noted desperadoes, Red-headed Bill and Black-headed McGrews were there . . . .'

But no missionaries.

One of the first parties to remove, after acceptance of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek by President Jackson and its quick ratification by the Senate, was led by Alexander Talley, the leading Methodist missionary. Talley's party was joined on the way west by Thomas Myers and his family. Talley referred to Myers as "my Choctaw teacher sent on by the chief /̲ Greenwood Leflore̲ 7 with the emigrants as an interpreter, and to open their way among the whites in all difficult cases . . . ." No record has been discovered to indicate that Myers established a school in the West, and Talley himself remained in the new land only two years after his arrival at Fort Towson in December of 1830. However, Moses Perry, another Choctaw teacher appointed in 1831 to assist Talley, was reported in 1835 to have "a prosperous school at Shawnee Town on the Red River," located southwest of the present city of Idabel. When the Arkansas Conference was organized in 1836, Perry was listed as teacher of "School No. 1" of the "Choctaw Circuit" of the Conference and "S. Allen" as teacher of "School No. 2."

Early in 1831 Talley built a house near Fort Towson, "below the fort," as he put it. From his new base he tried to assist immigrant Choctaws as they arrived in the new land. Using an authorization from Greenwood Leflore, Talley purchased corn to feed the Indians for which he pledged the credit of the Choctaw Nation, and he also set up a blacksmith shop so that the new arrivals could make or repair plows and other tools needed to put in crops during the spring of 1831. His reports on the morale of the displaced Indians included one anecdote about a Choctaw who remained silent when urged to sing at a religious service, explaining afterward:

> Me no sing, home gone, hungry;
> White man's God no good.
> Me die.

In 1833 the Mississippi Conference recalled Talley from his work with the Choctaw Mission, ostensibly because of ill health, and his death from cholera occurred the next year at Vicksburg.

Talley's recall possibly was hastened by the bitter opposition of Mushulatubbee, Nitakechi, and other full-blood leaders to the missionaries resident in the Nation. Talley, a friend of Greenwood Leflore and promoter of removal, was the only missionary actually named in a letter to the Secretary of War, dated June 15, 1831. Over the names of

Mushulatubbee, Nitakechi, and several other Choctaw full-blood leaders, the Secretary was requested to cease payment of Choctaw funds to any missionaries. Further, the chiefs stated that:

> Neither do we wish for any of the present missionaries to go with us beyond the Mississippi; and Doctor Talley, who has already settled on our land may be ordered out.

When the three Choctaw districts were set up in the West, Methodist and American Board missionaries were not welcome in Mushulatubbee's district until after the old chief's death from smallpox in 1838. Nitakechi's district was not friendly, either, so that mission work immediately after removal was concentrated in the area to which Greenwood Leflore's people removed, the southeast corner of the present state of Oklahoma.

Even before removal the decision had been made as to the approximate areas to be occupied in the new country by the people from each of the three Choctaw districts. The Mushulatubbee district, the Northeast or "lower Towns" in Mississippi, was located west of Fort Smith, bounded on the north by the Arkansas and Canadian rivers and on the south by what the Choctaws called the "Dividing Ridge," the watershed between the Arkansas valley and that of the Red River. This "Dividing Ridge" included Rich Mountain, the Winding Stair, and lesser elevations to the west. The Apukshunnubbee District in the new land, in which the migrants from Greenwood Leflore's "Upper Towns" or Northwest District in Mississippi settled, was bounded on the north by the "Dividing Ridge," on the east by the Arkansas line established by the Treaty of 1825, on the west by the Kiamichi River, and on the south by Red River. This District, first called Red River or Oklafalaya, was soon re-named Apukshunnubbee. The immigrants from the third district, in Mississippi the South or "Six

Towns" people of Nitakechi, located themselves west of the Kiamichi River, between the Dividing Ridge and Red River. The western boundary of this District, named for the great chief Pushmataha, was the Hundredth Meridian, as was that of the Mushulatubbee District.

Although the Methodist missionaries were the first to remove, their efforts were so hampered by the opposition of the full-blood chiefs that during the years immediately following removal the Methodist mission effort was slow to re-establish itself in the West. In the meantime, the missionaries of the American Board temporized while the decision was being made concerning the future of their Choctaw Mission. No American Board missionaries moved west, as had Alexander Talley, during the fall and winter of 1830-1831. The feeling of gloom and despair and the demoralization and disorder of the Choctaw Nation as a whole were reflected in the Choctaw Mission during these same months. But the advice and influence of Cyrus Kingsbury, superintendent of the Choctaw Mission of the American Board, and other leading missionaries prevailed. These men and women were loath to give up the work to which they had dedicated their lives, since they cherished a deep and abiding affection for the Choctaw people among whom they had labored for more than a decade. Also in 1831 The Missionary Herald, official publication of the American Board, reported "urgent and pathetic appeals" from Christian Choctaws to permit the missionaries to accompany them to their new home. One moving Choctaw letter cited by The Herald concluded with an appeal for the prayers and help of Christians everywhere as the Indians were "about to return to the wild woods."

The Board yielded to these influences and sent word that it would "not abandon the /̅Choctaws_7 in their perilous and distressing condition," but would continue the Choctaw Mission in the West. This decision was not made without some soul searching by men, chiefly New Englanders, who had true Yankee scruples about waste of money, time, and resources. Since 1818, some $140,000 had been expended for operation of the Mission, of which $60,000 had been contributions from the Board. In 1831 it was discovered that the Federal Government proposed to pay the Board less than $5,000 for the improvements made at the nine mission stations now to be abandoned completely. The American Board had filed much larger claims for reimbursement for their improvements, one account reporting that $7,200 was asked for Mayhew and $6,000 for Eliot. Amounts requested for the other and smaller establishments ranged from $670 to $1300 each. Thus, the physical investment in Mississippi would become almost a total loss, while new and heavy expenditures would be needed to re-establish the Mission in the West. Presumably men devoted to Christian missions could not bring themselves to put a dollar value on human souls and determined that financial loss should not be a factor in the decision to remove with the Choctaws.

Even after the decision to re-establish the Mission was made, however, there was no great rush to the West by the apostles of the American Board. Many perplexing judgments had to be made. Arrangements for moving were difficult, as any one who has ever moved just one family will understand. Many of the older missionaries were unable to face the hardships posed by removal and decided to retire from mission work altogether; they had to be replaced by younger, inexperienced personnel. And, of course, not only the problems of who should go but what should go had to be determined. As a result it was July 13, 1836, before the Choctaw Mission of the American Board was formally reorganized in what is now Oklahoma.

During the years 1831-1836, the Mission removed piecemeal. In 1832 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported as if all schools of the American Board were still operating in Mississippi. His report listed the stations by name and can be compared with a Missionary Herald listing for a year or two earlier. According to the 1832 Commissioner's report, the Choctaw Mission comprised nine schools, thirty-four teachers, and two hundred fifty-two pupils. Perhaps because of full-blood opposition, no government aid was reported. A check against the 1828 Missionary Herald report for the same schools reveals that the number of teachers was exaggerated by the Commissioner's report, apparently the result of a misunderstanding caused by counting all mission personnel at each station as teachers. The Herald reported thirty-three missionaries in all, including evangelists, wives, and other personnel, but only thirteen were listed as teachers. In 1834 Cyrus Kingsbury and Cyrus Byington, the last to remove, closed the mission in Mississippi permanently, and by 1835 had arrived in the West with their families. In that year the only school reported by the Commissioner for the Choctaws was the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, which had sixty-six Choctaw pupils. The Commissioner's report did remark, however, that there were "other schools among the Indian tribes, from which no returns have been made."

Before the arrival of Kingsbury and Byington, the American Board missionaries who preceded them had already established mission stations in the Apukshunnubbee District, where Leflore's people settled. The first of the American Board missionaries to arrive in the West was Loring S. Williams. Only July 12, 1832, he located himself on Mountain Fork River, near the present Eagletown and about ten miles west of the Arkansas line, at the ford or crossing on the river used by all emigrants coming overland to Apukshunnubbee and Pushmataha districts. Here the missionary bought from a white man a house and other improvements near a fine spring. This section of the new Choctaw country was not exactly uncharted wilderness, for it had been previously organized as Miller County, Arkansas Territory, part of it had been surveyed, and a United States post office had been established in 1824 somewhere near the present Idabel. Any white settlers still remaining after 1830 had to give way to the incoming Choctaws, and the availability of improved farms and homesteads made this section of the new land especially attractive to the Choctaw mixed bloods. Williams named his place Bethabara because, he said, the ancient Bethabara was beyond Jordan and at or near the crossing where the children of Israel entered the Promised Land. In Hebrew "Bethabara" means "ford" or "crossing" and traditionally was the name given to the ford on the Jordan twelve miles below the Sea of Galilee where John baptized Jesus. Near Oklahoma's Bethabara on August 19, 1832, Williams organized the first church, Nanih Hacha (Mountain River), of the Choctaw Mission in the West.

By the time Alfred Wright, who had traveled from Vicksburg to Little Rock with the Williams party, reached Bethabara, the Nanih Hacha congregation numbered fifty-six. Mr. and Mrs. Wright had been left behind at Little Rock in February, because he had suffered a spasmodic heart seizure, an affliction which had troubled him off and on for several years. The Wrights drove the 190 miles from Little Rock in a Dearborn wagon, a light, one-horse vehicle with top and side curtains, the nineteenth century equivalent of a station wagon. By December, Wright's health had improved so that he was able to leave Bethabara and establish himself at a site near Little River, about half way between Mountain Fork and the Kiamichi

River and eighteen miles east of Fort Towson. He named the station Wheelock in memory of Eleazar Wheelock, founder of Dartmouth College and famed for his work in the education of Indians. Between 1754 and 1769, before he established Dartmouth, Wheelock operated a school for the Indians at Lebanon, Connecticut, the native town of Alfred Wright. On the second Sabbath in December, 1832, Wright organized a church at Wheelock, the congregation numbering eighty-seven; eighty of these had belonged to Wright's church in Mississippi.

Both Wheelock and Bethabara were centers around which many of the migrant Christian Indians settled themselves, at least temporarily. One observer estimated that by the spring of 1834 "as many as 2,000 [Choctaws were] within a distance of 10 or 12 miles" from Bethabara. How many of these were Christians cannot be determined, of course, since on their arrival in the West the Indians, regardless of religious faith, concentrated themselves along the streams near the stations from which their subsistence rations were issued by the army. By the spring of 1832 four supply stations had been established to issue provisions to the immigrant Indians as they arrived in the Apukshunnubbee and Pushmataha districts. These locations were on Mountain Fork near Bethabara, at the evacuated Miller County Court House not far west of the present city of Idabel, near Fort Towson, and at Horse Prairie, which was on Red River in the Pushmataha District. Rations for the Indians arriving at Fort Smith to settle in the Mushulatubbee District were issued at or near that Fort.

Not long after Alfred Wright left Mountain Fork to establish Wheelock, the family of Rev. Ebenezer Hotchkin, youngest of the early New England missionaries who had been licensed to preach just a few months previously, was received into the home of Williams at Bethabara.

Before her marriage Mrs. Hotchkin was Philena Thatcher of Lucerne County, Pennsylvania, and was one of the earliest recruits to arrive in Mississippi after Cyrus Kingsbury established the Mayhew station. The Hotchkin family remained at Bethabara until March, 1833. In the meantime, Mr. Hotchkin had constructed a log house, with some native assistance, on Clear Creek a few miles southeast of Fort Towson, and at this spot he and Mrs. Hotchkin established themselves with their children. Within a short time, however, they all became desperately ill—the disease has not been exactly identified but was called "remittent fevers" by the missionaries—and a Miss Eunice Clough, a native of New Hampshire who had just arrived at Wheelock to be assigned as a teacher, went to care for the Hotchkins. When she also became ill, the whole household was carried to the Alfred Wright cabin at Wheelock, an abode which they shared for the next six months. Happily, all recovered. This was a tragic time for the Choctaws, the summer and fall of 1833, when the warm weather was accompanied by torrential rains which flooded the lowlands. In some Indian families all were sick, according to Mr. Wright, who reported seventy deaths that year among seventy families within a three-mile radius of Wheelock.

Mr. Hotchkin wrote that in his neighborhood of four to five hundred souls not a child under the age of one year remained alive after the winter of 1833-1834. In the Mushulatubbee District, six hundred deaths were reported during five weeks of August and September, 1833. To make the situation almost unbearable, the crops which had been planted in the river bottoms during the spring were drowned out by high water, thus bringing those emigrants who had survived the illness face to face with possible hunger and even starvation. Many, like Peter P. Pitchlynn, began to have "doubts about the wisdom of leaving Mississippi." As a result, Pitchlynn and others moved out of the river bottoms to more healthful locations. The next spring Ebenezer Hotchkin wrote, during the starving time which followed the loss of crops, that "many Choctaws are suffering for food . . . . What will they do before corn is raised?" And on June 9, 1834, he wrote a friend:

> The Choctaws are suffering extremely. More than ever they suffered before from hunger. It is not uncommon for persons to call who have not eat any bread or meat for 10, 12, and 15 days. It is enough to draw tears from a rock . . . . One woman said the other day 'for myself I can bear all without a murmur but when my children cry for bread day after day it almost breaks my heart.'

In addition to providing food for those in need, the missionaries, particularly Alfred Wright, cared for the sick. Although educated for the ministry, Wright had studied and trained himself in medical science. Possibly he became concerned with medicine because of his own heart disease; whatever his motivation, Wright practiced the medical art all during his years of service to the Choctaws and, as mentioned earlier, became their "beloved physician." During the summer of 1833, when the Hotchkin family and Miss Clough were being cared for by the Wrights at Wheelock, the nearest doctor was sixty miles distant and appalled the missionary household by charging $70 for a professional call to see Miss Clough.

Indian doctors or medicine men were in great demand, but the Christian Choctaws were likely to place their reliance for treatment when ill on the advice and care furnished by the missionaries. In an August 13, 1833, letter to a friend, Mrs. Wright, nee Harriet Bunce, wrote that Mr. Wright's "whole time has been taken up with the sick—since the first week in June he has attended 322 individual cases; he is frequently called up in the middle of the night, though he is still very feeble . . . ." Such dedication justified the inscription on Wright's tombstone in the Wheelock cemetery: "As a physician, he was skillful, attentive, and ever ready to relieve and comfort the afflicted." In addition he is eulogized there as a man, as a Christian, as a translator, and as a minister.

Wright was more skilled in medicine than most other missionaries, but in times of epidemic all missionaries, regardless of denomination, devoted themselves to the care of the sick. Even in the absence of epidemics every missionary was ready to assist any ailing individual with medicines and nursing. For example, while Wright was fighting the 1833 epidemic around Wheelock, the Reverend Charles E. Wilson, a Baptist missionary who had opened a school near the Choctaw Agency southwest of Fort Smith in the fall of 1832, abandoned his school in the spring of 1833 to help the Choctaws of the Mushulatubbee District when the epidemic struck. Until he left the area in 1835 he reported "spending his time entirely in visiting the sick and communicating religious instruction." Wilson was succeeded in this area by the Reverend Eben Tucker, Dr. Alanson Allen, and the Rev. and Mrs. Joseph Smedley. Like Wilson, all started teaching. They were under the direction of the Baptist Board but were "chiefly sustained by . . . government appropriations," a status which will be examined presently.

The fact that these early Baptist missionary teachers were active at this time in Mushulatubbee's district--he died of the smallpox in 1838--indicates that the old chief's aversion to missionaries was selective. That is, he rejected the "Yankee Missionaries" but harbored no unfriendly feelings toward the Baptists. So that Wilson, a native of Philadelphia, could teach in the district in 1832. The next year, Eben Tucker, another Baptist, "opened a school at Bethlehem, twenty miles southeast of the Choctaw Agency" near Sugar Loaf Mountain. Also in 1833 Alanson Allen, a Baptist missionary who was a doctor of medicine, "opened a school at Cavernhole," probably near Cavanal Mountain. The Reverend Joseph Smedley began a Baptist school in 1834 at "Pleasant" or "Pheasant" Bluff--the records give both spellings--on the Arkansas River northeast of the present Stigler. Mention was made of another "school . . . located on the Fourche Maline River" but no teacher or location was cited.

As a result of the sickness, poor crops, and resulting hunger, it was 1835 before the mission stations and their schools really began to take root. For example, Miss Eunice Clough, previously mentioned, had been employed as a teacher by the people around Bethabara. Her term was to begin in the fall of 1833 in a school house under construction during the summer. Her illness, and the general epidemic, prevented opening of the school at the time planned. Most regular school sessions were delayed, usually until the fall of 1835, and whether Miss Clough ever taught the school at Bethabara is not clear. By July 13, 1835, she was in charge of a school at Lukfata, or "White Clay," located on Lukfata Creek, a tributary of Little River; the site is about half way between the modern cities of Broken Bow and Idabel. Miss Clough was the first teacher of Allen Wright, distinguished son of the Choctaws, and it was she who gave Wright, a full blood called "Kiliahote," his English surname in honor of Alfred Wright, founder of Wheelock Mission.

By 1836, according to Grant Foreman, twelve schools serving three hundred children were in operation by "the missionaries." Miss Clough's at Lukfata was one of these. Her school was located about half way between Bethabara and Wheelock and most of the others were located at or near these two stations. At or near Bethabara were Ah Pah Kah, east of Mountain Fork, "Elizabeth A. Merrill and John Q. Adams, a Choctaw," teachers; "Eagle Town, Louisa M. Williams," teacher; and "West of Mountain Fork, J. Cogswell, a Choctaw," teacher. Louisa M. Williams was the daughter of Loring S. Williams, who had joined her parents at Bethabara in December, 1834; she left when her parents withdrew from the Choctaw Mission in the fall of 1837. Elizabeth Merrill at "Ah Pa Kah" was a New Hampshire native who taught in the Choctaw Nation from December, 1835, until released from mission service in April, 1838. Bethabara was closed when Williams and his family left the Choctaw Nation, but in 1837 Cyrus Byington established Stockbridge Mission at Eagletown, just east of the Bethabara site.

In 1836 the school at Wheelock Mission was taught by George Reed, while four other schools were clustered short distances away from the main Wheelock station. Mrs. Ebenezer Hotchkin taught a school "near Clear Creek," eight miles west; Ellen Carney on "Glover's Fork" to the north; probably Henry Wilson at Boktuklo, seven miles southeast; and Samuel Moulton at Bethel, "near Col. Garland's," five miles southwest. Another school, whose location was given only as "Red River," was being taught by "James Brewer, a Choctaw." At Pine Ridge, two miles northwest of Doaksville, the garrison town just west of Fort Towson, a school was directed by Miss Anna Burnham. Of Massachusetts birth, she had joined the Choctaw Mission in Mississippi in 1822 and had settled with the Hotchkins at Clear Creek by 1833. Although Dr. Foreman gave twelve as the number of schools, he identified only eleven by teacher and location, and failed to mention any schools being conducted by Methodist or Baptist missionaries.

During these years the Methodist educational effort did not grow perceptibly. Indeed, when the Methodist work among the Choctaws was transferred in 1836 from the Mississippi Conference to the Arkansas Conference, only two schools were reported in the "Choctaw Circuit." Without indication as to their locations or enrollment, these were listed as "School No. 1, Moses Perry," probably at Shawneetown, and "School No. 2, S. Allen." Also in 1836 Baptist missionaries taught two or three neighborhood schools in Mushulatubbee District and one in Pushmataha District.

A more complete picture of the status of Choctaw schools in the 1830s appeared in the reports of the United Agents to the Choctaws during this period. Francis W. Armstrong, first Agent west of the Mississippi, joined the Choctaws in their new home in September, 1833, and immediately began to encourage the Indians to construct log buildings and organize schools to be supported by annuity payments. Little was accomplished before his death in August, 1835, when Francis was succeeded by his brother William Armstrong. During his twelve years as Agent, until his death in June, 1847, William Armstrong was a key figure in the establishment by the Choctaws of an effective school system. It was he who controlled the funds and for several years was the de facto superintendent of Choctaw schools. Armstrong endeavored to implement those provisions of the Treaties of 1825 and 1830 designed to support education. The original plan called for the expenditure of the $6,000 annually available from the Treaty of 1825 to support twelve schools, four for each district. For some reason, these came to be called "United States" schools and the instructors in charge were known as "United States teachers." Each teacher of a "United States school" received one twelfth of the $6,000 annually or five hundred dollars. In addition, Article XX of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek not only provided funds for the education of "forty Choctaw youths," which was first applied to the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, but also for one school building in each of the three districts. The teachers of these three schools, to be paid from an annuity of $2,500.00 for twenty years, were called "Treaty Teachers." Since the "Treaty Teachers" received an annual salary of $833.33, their positions were more desirable than those of the "United States Teachers," whose annual stipends were much smaller.

Many of the schools thus financed through Choctaw funds were taught or supervised by missionaries. In fact, a detailed report by William Armstrong to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on September 21, 1837, listed eleven teachers of "Treaty" and "United States" schools, of whom at least six were missionaries. For various reasons, Armstrong had not reached his goal of fifteen schools in 1837. The three district schools were in operation, but only eight of the twelve "United States" schools were in existence and some of the eight were not doing well. The 1837 data presented by Armstrong for the three district or "Treaty" schools showed the following:

Treaty Schools

		No. of Students							
Teacher	Location	M	F	Total	Reading	Writing	Arithmetic	Grammar	Geography
William Wilson	Choctaw Agency	8	6	14	5	5	3	3	3
Ramsay D. Potts	Providence	39	3	42	11	3	3	3	0
H. G. Rind	Little River	19	6	25	6	2	2	1	1
	Totals	66	15	81	22	10	8	7	4

Of the three teachers named, only Potts in the Pushmataha District was a missionary. A dedicated Baptist, more information will be forthcoming concerning him in the discussion of Armstrong Academy to be presented later. Of the Providence school Armstrong remarked in 1837 that, "It has been found expedient to establish a female school in connection with this, as the Indians are oposed [sic] to sending males & females to the same school." Potts did attempt to operate a girls school, but without success. Of William Wilson's school in the Mushulatubbee District, Armstrong stated that preparations were being made to board scholars in the neighborhood, which he believed would make it a "flourishing school." Of Rind's school, which was near Eagle Town in Apukshunnubbee District, the report was that the pupils had "all commenced with the establishment in the alphabet" and the condition was "flourishing."

Four of the eight "United States" schools were in Apukshunnubbee District and served 103 students, of whom twenty were girls. Of the three schools in Mushulatubbee District, enrollment figures were listed for only two for a total of forty-nine, of whom nine were girls. Joseph Smedley's school at "Pheasant" Bluff was "badly located," according to Armstrong, and it probably was not in operation. Smedley's wife had died, leaving him with the care of eight motherless children, which was part of the reason for his failure to report. The eighth of the "United States" schools was supervised by Ebenezer Hotchkin at Good Water in Pushmataha District. When the Good Water enrollment of thirty pupils is added to those in the other two districts, the total is one hundred eighty-two. Armstrong also reported figures in 1837 for six "Missionary Schools," all in the Apukshunnubbee District. When the 180 pupils listed for the mission schools is added to the 182 in the "Treaty" and "United

States" schools, the total number of Choctaw children in 1837 receiving any kind of formal instruction was about three hundred sixty. This was far short of universal public education for the thousand or so Choctaw children of school age, but it was a big step in the right direction.

By 1837 a feeling of optimism began to replace that of hopelessness which had been engendered by the death, demoralization, and despair which engulfed the Choctaws during and immediately following removal. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported in 1837 that fifteen thousand Choctaw Indians were "prospering and improving" in their western home. Good crops of such foodstuffs as corn, potatoes, peas, beans, pumpkins, and melons were harvested in the fall of 1837. In fact, most of a surplus of fifty thousand bushels of corn was sold to the garrison at Fort Towson and two cotton gins, as well as some gristmills and sawmills, were under construction.

As the hope for a prosperous future in their new home increased among the Choctaws, so did the urge to create a permanent and effective system of public schools. Choctaw leaders, educated at the Choctaw Academy and the mission schools, dreamed of a literate and enlightened nation which eventually, perhaps in conjuncture with other Indian nations, would become a territory or state of the United States. Choctaw progress in government was illustrated by their establishment of a government under a written constitution, first attempted in 1834 and revised in 1838 to include the Chickasaws as a fourth district. The leaders of this new government strongly supported the cause of public education and began to enact necessary legislation. The results were, according to Angie Debo, that before they had been "in their new home for a generation" the Choctaws became, "at least so far as their own language was concerned," a literate people.

V

AN ACT RESPECTING PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The missionaries, especially those of the American Board, played a leading role in the drive to achieve the Choctaw goal of national literacy. Cyrus Byington and his co-workers of the American Board not only made Choctaw a written language by using the English alphabet in the preparation of grammars, definers, and dictionaries, but they spent countless hours in translating and preparing for the printer a great many religious books and tracts. By 1837 the number of tracts published in Choctaw had reached 30,500, for a total of 576,000 pages. Within the next few years, besides the complete New Testament and portions of the Old Testament, Choctaw publications included a hymn book, moral lectures, "biographical sketches of pious Indians," the Westminster Catechism, and numerous religious pamphlets with such informative titles as "Regeneration, Repentance, and Judgment," "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," "Salvation by Faith and Other Pieces," and "Fraud Detected and Exposed." Less foreboding than the tracts were collections of Bible stories printed for Choctaw children in their native language.

The American Board workers also prepared for publication school textbooks, such as spellers and arithmetics. Between 1836 and 1843 several issues of a Choctaw almanac were published under Byington's supervision, which contained all manner of statistical information about the tribe and "used a measure of time more effective than the familiar bundles of sticks," to quote Angie Debo. The Choctaw edition of the New Testament was published in New York by the American Bible Society, under the joint direction of Cyrus Byington and Alfred Wright, but the bulk of Choctaw printing during these years was done by the press at Park Hill in the

Cherokee Nation. In 1835 this press had been transported west by Samuel A. Worcester, the noted American Board missionary to the Cherokees, and was operated for two years at Union Mission on the Grand River above Fort Gibson. In 1837 it was removed to a permanent home at Park Hill near Tahlequah.

In a missive dated July 3, 1843, Worcester named the following Choctaw items in a larger list of books and pamphlets issued since the press had been first set up at Union in 1835:

In the Choctaw Language

	No. of copies
Choctaw Friend, 100 pages, 12 mo [1836]	3,000
Choctaw Reader, 126 pages, 12 mo [1836]	2,000
Choctaw Constitution and Laws	[omitted]
Methodist Discipline, 48 pages, 24 mo	[omitted]
Epistles of John, 27 pages, 24 mo	1,000
Child's Book on the Soul, 16 pages, 24 mo	400
Child's Book on Creation, 14 pages, 24 mo	400
Bible Stories, 23 pages, 24 mo.	350
Choctaw Almanac for 1836, 16 pages, 24 mo	[omitted]
Choctaw Almanac for 1837, 24 pages, 24 mo	[omitted]
Choctaw Almanac for 1839, 24 pages, 24 mo	[omitted]
Choctaw Almanac for 1843, 24 pages, 24 mo	[omitted]

Worcester noted that all of these, except the Methodist Discipline and the Choctaw Constitution and Laws, were published at the expense of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and "by far the greater part for gratuitous distribution." An American Board report stated that by 1843 about 950,000 pages had been printed in the Choctaw language at Park Hill, adding that since "the number of Choctaws who read their own language is constantly increasing, there is an urgent call for more books."

And more books were forthcoming. In addition to the titles listed in the previous paragraph, some of which were reprinted in later editions, items published through 1847, when the last Choctaw volume was issued by the Park Hill press, included:

	No. of copies
Epistle of James, 23 pages, 24 mo	1,000
Revelation (first three chapters), 20 pages, 24 mo	1,000
Shorter Catechism, 48 pages, 24 mo	1,000
Chitokaka i nitak holitopa isht anumpa (a tract on the Lord's Day), 4 pages, 12 mo	2,000
Fraud Exposed and Detected (a sermon of Rev. Edward Payson, D. D.), 11 pages, 12 mo	2,000
Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God (Jonathan Edwards), 25 pages, 12 mo	2,000
I Will Give Liberally, 16 pages, 12 mo	2,000
The New Birth, 16 pages, 12 mo	1,000
Religious Tracts (Loring S. Williams), 28 pages, 12 mo	2,000
Salvation by Faith, 20 pages, 12 mo	2,000
Character and Works of God, 30 pages [size omitted]	2,000
Regeneration, Repentance, and Judgment, 28 pages, 12 mo	2,000
Chahta Na-Holhtina [Choctaw Arithmetic], 72 pages, 12 mo	2,000
Choctaw Spelling Book, 108 pages, 12 mo	1,000
Choctaw Almanac for 1844, 24 pages, 12 mo	300

The optimism of the Christian missionaries, who believed that the Choctaws were well on their way toward becoming an educated and Christian nation, derived partly from the response of the Choctaw people to their efforts in general education and Christian teaching. A Methodist missionary among the Choctaws for two decades prior to the Civil War testified:

> . . . And I do not remember one native Christian man who was not able to read the Choctaw Testament. When traveling from home the native disciple did not forget to have his *achukma hollissee* [*sic*]--good book--in his pocket as a traveling companion.

The records of the Choctaw Mission of the American Board reflected this concern for Choctaw education. Meeting at Bethel on July 13, 1836, to organize the mission in the West, were seven missionaries of "the American Board of Com. for Foreign Missions for the Choctaw Nation," all ordained ministers, namely: Cyrus Kingsbury, Pine Ridge; Cyrus Byington, Eagle Town; Joel Wood, Boktuklo; Samuel Moulton, Bethel; Alfred Wright, Wheelock; Loring S. Williams, Bethabara; and Ebenezer Hotchkin, Clear Creek. Among actions taken relating to Choctaw education were: appointment of Alfred Wright, Cyrus Byington, and Loring S. Williams as a committee "to inquire into the expediency of establishing a newspaper in the Chahta language"; and a recommendation for the employment at Stockbridge, the "female school at Eagle Town" supervised by Cyrus Byington, of "one additional female teacher . . . in the higher branches of education, with special reference to the training of teachers for the Chahtas."

Minutes of the quarterly meetings continued to show this preoccupation of the missionaries with ways and means for education of the Choctaw people of all ages, often by media other than organized schools. Discussions and decisions noted in the minutes which demonstrate this enduring interest in educational matters included: a decision on "how to dispose of /̲Chahta_7 books & medicines to the natives," and setting a "moderate price" for those who could pay; resolutions as to assignments of new teachers and reassignments of active teachers to the various schools; judgments which closed some schools and opened others, as circumstances directed; requirements that "each of the ministers of this Mission according to seniority" visit the mission schools quarterly and make reports concerning them to the Prudential Committee of the American Board and to the "U. S. Agent"; directions to the "Book Committee" as to various projects, such as preparation of "matter for an almanac"; and provisions for teacher pay and length of school terms. A typical example of an arrangement for teacher pay was an 1840 entry approving employment of Mrs. Anne Folsom as teacher at Boktuklo "for six months in each year at $12.00 per month, provided the people will pay one third of the sum."

One phase of the missionary effort to educate the people generally, in which many Choctaw families cooperated wholeheartedly, was the operation of weekend schools, usually referred to as "Sunday Schools" although they actually assembled on both Saturday and Sunday. Whole families often traveled long distances and camped near a church or schoolhouse to receive instruction in arithmetic as well as reading and writing in the Choctaw language; in most cases, of course, the families of a neighborhood simply attended the Sunday School nearby. After such schools were successfully initiated by the missionaries, they began to receive assistance from appropriations of the Choctaw General Council.

A good example of an early Sunday School was one taught by Miss Anna Burnham, a native of Massachusetts who had begun teaching at Mayhew in 1822 and had moved west with the Choctaws in 1833. After teaching at Clear Creek, Wheelock, and Pine Ridge, Miss Burnham was granted permission by the Choctaw Mission in the fall of 1838 to teach a neighborhood school near the home of Israel Folsom. The missionary brethren also resolved that in their opinion "the parents of the children should furnish a school house and house for the teacher and that one hundred dollars should be subscribed by responsible men to meet the teachers expenses." This type of arrangement was quite often made by the parents in a Choctaw neighborhood which desired a school. Grant Foreman described Miss Burnham's experience thus:

> Miss Anna Burnham, of advanced age /̲born in 1781 she was aged 57 in 1838̲7, for several years taught a little school on Red River, more than seven miles

> from any white habitation and there she lived alone in a little log house constructed by the Indians.

In an 1843 note to Major William Armstrong, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Western Territory, Miss Burnham herself gave a "Report on the school on Red River," when she wrote:

> Number of scholars attending the school, 30, viz: 13 boys and 17 girls.
>
> The Sabbath school has been continued through the year, and well attended. Between 30 and 40 usually attended as readers, most of them young men and young women. About 15 of them read both Choctaw and English.
>
> We have public worship every Sabbath, and meetings are well attended.

Miss Burnham does not mention any Choctaw helpers in her school, neither for the regular nor weekend sessions. But Grant Foreman described the Sunday schools as an "interesting and novel expedient" and mentions native assistants to the missionary teachers. Actually Sunday schools for attacking illiteracy had been organized before the 1830s in the northeastern states from which most of the missionaries came. Dr. Foreman states that during the years following removal "dozens of these /̅Sunday_7 schools" were organized and attended by pupils who "lived at home." He also writes that the "teachers were usually Choctaws who had gone through the mission schools," and cites two schools taught by native Choctaws who were "young ladies of about eighteen years of age." Such teachers spoke the native tongue and had the "entire confidence of the nation," according to one source. Alfred Wright reported from Wheelock in 1841 that seven Sunday schools were being taught in his sphere of ministerial labors, the attendance at each ranging from twenty-five to fifty pupils.

By 1840 the feeling of optimism for the future of their republic had spread from the leaders of the Choctaw Nation through the rank and file of the Choctaw people. Most were convinced that continued progress in education was vital to the fulfillment of their national dreams, and in 1842 the Choctaw General Council responded to the common desire and enacted legislation which became the basis for development of a more complete system of public schools. Important among the events leading to this enactment was discontinuance of Choctaw support for the Johnson Academy in Kentucky. Dissatisfaction with the functioning of the Academy, which had surfaced off and on almost since its beginning, came to a head in the late 1830s. In 1840 the Choctaw chiefs notified William Armstrong, "agent for the Choctaws and acting superintendent [for the] western territory" who maintained his headquarters at the Choctaw Agency near Fort Smith, that they would send no more boys to the Choctaw Academy. The chiefs proposed to expend the Choctaw funds allocated to the Academy, which Agent Armstrong listed as $18,000.00 for 1840, for construction of an advanced school for boys in their own country.

The advantages of location within the homeland were obvious. Furthermore, the chiefs had several other reasons for their dissatisfaction with the Kentucky school. Among these were that the boys received incomplete or no instruction in practical subjects, especially agriculture; acquired indolent, effeminate, and vicious habits such as gambling and drinking; and returned home contemptuous of their relatives and their Choctaw heritage to such an extent that they were alienated from the Nation of their birth. As a result of the last-named problem, it was alleged, some returning students had even committed suicide. Colonel Richard M. Johnson prevailed upon the chiefs to continue support of the

Kentucky institution, however, by promising to appoint Peter P. Pitchlynn to visit the Academy, investigate the situation, and report his findings. Pitchlynn undertook this assignment in December, 1840, and was offered the position of Academy superintendent by Johnson upon his arrival in Kentucky. Pitchlynn tentatively accepted this offer and, encouraged by Johnson, proceeded on to Washington to discuss the future of the institution with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and other interested Federal officials. When Pitchlynn returned to Kentucky in the middle of March, 1841, he confirmed his acceptance of the superintendency and continued on west, supposedly to pick up his family. Actually he remained in the Choctaw Nation until late July. During this time he assisted in the planning for a new school for boys, which he hoped to head and which would be financed with the funds made available when the subsidy to the Choctaw Academy was discontinued. His credentials for such a position were questioned by Agent Armstrong, however, and Pitchlynn returned to Kentucky in the late summer of 1841 without assurance that he would be headmaster of the proposed new institution inside the Choctaw Nation.

Pitchlynn's real motive in accepting the superintendency of the Choctaw Academy was to end Choctaw support of the Kentucky school in order to use the funds for a new school in the West. He found reasons to augment the dissatisfaction of the Choctaws and resurrected old charges against the Academy such as insufficient food and clothing, filthy beds, an unqualified physician, and dilapidated buildings. At the October, 1841, session of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation, a resolution was passed to discontinue funding for the Choctaw Academy; the chiefs advised the Secretary of War that they desired to discontinue the association with the Kentucky school on April 1, 1842, and that they expected Pitchlynn to effect that objective. This same resolution hinted at the desire of the Choctaw leadership to assume greater control over expenditure of their educational funds in a confusing sentence:

> . . . we will give a hearty co-operation to the location of this School within our own country, founded upon the resources of our Nation, as provided for in the Treaty stipulation, and so far as this, and all other educational funds belonging to the Nation, be placed under the control of the General Council, as far as may be compatible with existing Treaties.

Nominally the Academy superintendent, Pitchlynn sent several Choctaw boys home in November, 1841, and withdrew the remaining forty-two in the spring of 1842. The Academy, condemned by Pitchlynn as "the nursery of violence and degradation," then retained only thirty-nine scholars from other tribes. W. David Baird in Peter Pitchlynn summarizes:

> Peter Pitchlynn ruined the Choctaw Academy despite its record as the chief educational institution of the Choctaws for fifteen years. He opposed it after 1828, and when he accepted the superintendency in 1841, it was to end the school rather than to advance it.

The Choctaw Academy continued to exist for several years, however, even though no Choctaws were in attendance.

In 1843 Agent Armstrong reported that the "forty youths heretofore educated at the Choctaw academy in Kentucky, under the treaty of 1830" had been divided into groups of ten each who would be educated at "four of the principal colleges in the United States." Among points to be considered in selection of the forty was the capacity to receive a "thorough classical education" which hopefully would prepare them to be "teachers in their own [Choctaw] institutions." Colleges suggested, although not all actually received Choctaw students at this time, included Jefferson College, Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania; Ohio University, Athens; and Asbury University, Greencastle, Indiana. As for the Choctaw Academy, its 1844 enrollment was reported as sixty-six, which included twenty-two Pottawatomies, five Creeks, one Prairie du Chien, twenty Chickasaws, and eighteen "Chicagoes." The Chickasaws, although technically a district of the Choctaw Nation, continued to send students to Kentucky while they organized their own Chickasaw Academy in the west. As late as 1848 the Chickasaw agent, A. M. M. Upshaw, reported that thirteen Chickasaw boys were enrolled in "Col. Richard M. Johnson's school, in Kentucky." These may have been the last, since Johnson died in 1850 and their new Chickasaw Academy opened in the "early summer" of 1851.

Meanwhile, during the time used by Pitchlynn to withdraw support from the Academy in Kentucky, various proposals were advanced among the Choctaws as to the nature, location, and general purpose of the school designed to replace the Academy in the west. Some believed that best use of the money would be to establish a comprehensive system of schools, which would operate at all levels and provide more education for girls. A statement as to the need of education for Indian women, a concept accepted by the Choctaw leadership when they wrote their school law of 1842, was made in 1839 by T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in discussing the condition of Indian education generally. Crawford wrote:

> One great mistake . . . has been made . . . more boys are educated than girls . . . . Unless the Indian female character is raised, and her relative position is changed, such education as you can give the males will be a rope of sand . . . . If the women are made [into] good and industrious housewives, and taught what benefits their

> condition, their husbands and sons will find comfortable homes and social enjoyments, which . . . are essential to morality and thrift. I would therefore advise that the larger proportion of pupils be female.

In 1840 Crawford repeated his stated convictions concerning the education of Indian women, as he speculated about the future of the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. In his annual report to the Secretary of War, the Commissioner noted that it was "anticipated that the Choctaw Academy . . . will cease to exist as an Indian school within 12 to 20 months." Crawford proposed in effect that the funds thus freed to be used to finance another "Choctaw Academy," using for this purpose the buildings at Fort Coffee on the Arkansas River. That installation had recently been abandoned as a military post by the United States, the physical property was in fair condition, and it was available to be used by the Choctaws. As described by the Commissioner, the buildings were "suitable for an extensive school establishment," the location was healthy, and the nearby land very fertile for farming purposes. As evidence that he was proposing another inter-tribal school such as the Choctaw Academy, he noted that not only would the site on the Arkansas River provide good transportation facilities, but it was also on the north boundary line of the Choctaws, and thus "quite convenient to the Creeks, Cherokees, Senecas, Shawnees, and Seminoles, and not too far removed from the Chickasaws and Osages."

Inter-tribal, perhaps, but unlike the Kentucky Academy, the Commissioner advocated that the proposed school be co-educational. For the young men, in addition to academic instruction, he believed that "Manual labor and farming are indispensable branches of instruction" and noted also that workshops should be constructed for teaching the "mechanic arts."

Then, Crawford continued, the girls, "who ought never to number less than one-half the puils," should be taught to sew, spin, and weave, so that hopefully they could make all the clothing needed by the whole school. Such a school at Fort Coffee would have helped greatly to implement the Commissioner's hopes for Indian education as stated soon after his appointment, when he wrote that his primary duty was to advance the "civilization and general welfare of the Indians." Indian education, he believed, was the "great and primary" means of performing that duty.

The Choctaws were impressed by the Commissioner's dreams and adopted many of his ideas. To be sure, those ideas largely coincided with the convictions of the missionaries and lesser government officials such as Agent William Armstrong, who very strongly influenced the Choctaws as they planned and established their educational system. It is impossible to determine the original proponents of the plan finally adopted, but led by Pitchlynn and others, the Choctaws rejected the concept of a pan-Indian school to replace the Choctaw Academy. What they desired was a Choctaw school for boys only, a school which they hoped to operate themselves without any help from non-citizens of the Choctaw Nation. The same Council of 1841 which had authorized withdrawal of support from the Academy in Kentucky voted to establish a national academy within the Choctaw boundaries and authorized a committee of six, two from each district, to pick a site and begin construction of the needed buildings. In 1842 this committee was replaced by a board of trustees, two of the four members being Peter Pitchlynn and William Armstrong, United States agent to the Choctaws. Pitchlynn represented Mushulatubbee District, while Robert M. Jones, wealthy Choctaw mixed blood, was the member from Pushmataha District, and Thompson McKinney, prominent citizen residing near Skullyville, served for Mushulatubbee District. In January, 1843, the Secretary of War expressed his approval of this board, writing the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

> The plan of having the agent of the United States for the Choctaws, by virtue of his office, a trustee, together with one from each district, to constitute a board of education for the principal academy, is very proper. If their powers were extended so as to make them a board of education for the nation, it would be found very useful.

Late in 1841 the chiefs sent Pitchlynn to Washington to look after various aspects of tribal business, including education. Arriving in December, he explained to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of War, and other key officials that it was the desire of Choctaw leaders to use the funds previously used in Kentucky to support a national academy within their Nation. Pitchlynn found a new secretary of war. His name was John Canfield Spencer, a New York Whig, and author of the note of January, 1843, cited just above. Pitchlynn was successful in getting the secretary's support for the Choctaw educational proposals, which also included an appropriation from the Indian Civilization Fund for the education of Choctaw girls at Wheelock, the school administered by Alfred Wright. Pitchlynn wrote to Spencer on January 6, 1842, that the "surest way to civilize and improve the condition of our people is to educate our females." Circumstantial evidence indicates that included in Pitchlynn's package for persuading the Secretary to agree to the Choctaw proposals was the name of the new boys' school. In any case, it was designated Spencer Academy, honoring a man who was in position to assist or harm the Choctaws for only a short time, since he was removed from the Office of Secretary of War early in 1843.

Pitchlynn's original proposal to Secretary Spencer was for approval of only two institutions, one for boys and one for girls, and both to be located in the Apukshunnubbee District. Wheelock was some eighteen miles east of Fort Towson, and Spencer Academy was located ten miles northwest of the Fort and about five miles east of the Kiamichi River. The site still appears on the map of Choctaw County, Oklahoma, as the hamlet of Spencerville. Undoubtedly leaders from both Pushmataha District, west of the Kiamichi River, and Mushulatubbee District, north of the dividing ridge, were questioned by their people as to why schools could not be established within their districts also and the proposed system of education be made more comprehensive and widespread. By the summer of 1842, Pitchlynn was back in the Nation, offered himself as a candidate for the General Council from Apukshunnubbee District, and was elected. When the Council convened at Nanih Waya in October, 1842, he was chosen speaker of the unicameral body.

As leader of the Council, Pitchlynn became the prime mover in securing enactment of far-reaching and comprehensive school legislation. Not only were Spencer and Wheelock voted support but institutions were also established and funded in each of the other two districts. This increase in the number of schools was surely more than a political horse trade, designed to secure support of Council members from Pushmataha and Mushulatubbee Districts for the funding of Wheelock and Spencer. Perhaps Grant Foreman was not far from the mark when he wrote that a "general awakening by the leading men of the tribe to the importance of education was manifest." In any event, a much greater sum of money for education was needed to finance the augmented plan; therefore, the Council voted to use for school purposes the annuity of $18,000 which the Nation received by the Treaty of 1837 from the sale of land for settlement of the Chickasaws. This was done in spite of strong opposition, since this money would have otherwise been parceled out among the people as per capita payments. Agent William Armstrong expressed his approbation of this use of the $18,000 by the Council, writing:

> This sum, provided for the support of schools, has formerly been paid per capita, as annuity to the Choctaws, and the change of application of so large an amount by the Choctaw general Council, and sanctioned by the people, to be expended in the nation upon a plan previously laid down, cannot but be hailed with much joy by those who desire the improvement and happiness of mankind.

In another connection Armstrong wrote further:

> I feel gratified that the Choctaws have taken so decided a stand in favor of educating their people. It is, I believe, the first instance of an Indian tribe changing the payment of their annuity from the tribe to education purposes.

And W. David Baird, in his Peter Pitchlynn, speaks of an "enlightened and concerned tribal leadership" which appropriated "nearly $20,000 out of annuities normally distributed per capita, the first such educational appropriation in American Indian history." By the fall of 1844, according to an official estimate of the War Department, the total annual expenditure in the Choctaw Nation for education was "upwards of $30,000." This figure was admittedly inaccurate since the exact amount of "other sums . . . derived from missionary contributions" was not known.

The "Act respecting public schools," approved in November, 1842, was landmark legislation passed after construction of the first boys' school, Spencer Academy, had already begun. This law provided funds for seven boarding schools, two for boys and five for girls. A third school for boys had been contemplated and named in the original law as Nanih Waya

Academy; its fate will be discussed later in connection with Armstrong Academy. Six of the seven institutions were placed under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners and the Methodist Missionary Society, while the Council itself retained direct control of Spencer Academy. In the Mushulatubbee District, the Fort Coffee buildings were to be utilized. The school there, under Methodist supervision, was to have a "female branch," eventually named New Hope and located near the Choctaw Agency about five miles from the Fort buildings which housed the boys. For the Fort Coffee schools, male and female, the Council voted an annual amount of $6,000 from the Chickasaw annuity, with the proviso that the Methodist Society must contribute at least $1,000 per annum. Only one of the seven institutions, Koonsha Female Seminary at Good Water, Ebenezer Hotchkin's station on Red River, was placed in the Pushmataha District. Assigned to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, this school was to receive from the Choctaw government $3,000 annually, nearly twice the amount allocated to each of the other female seminaries proposed for control by the American Board. Also the American Board was to provide funds for Koonsha and the other schools placed under the Board's direction "in proportion as the Methodist Episcopal Church [was] required to do" at Fort Coffee.

The four remaining schools were all located in the Apukshunnubbee District. Spencer Academy was allocated $6,000 from the annuity formerly used for the Choctaw Academy; this derived from the provision in the Washington treaty of 1825 which provided that sum for Choctaw education "annually, forever." Finally, three schools for girls, to be managed by the American Board, were to receive $1,600 each from the Chickasaw annuity; in addition, the Board contracted to supply a minimum of $266.67 annually to each of the three. They were designated as: Wheelock Female Seminary, Alfred Wright's school already proposed by Pitchlynn and others to be a center for the education of girls; Chuwahla Female Seminary, to be under the supervision of Cyrus Kingsbury at Pine Ridge near Fort Towson; and Ianubbee Female Seminary at Stockbridge, near Eagle Town on Mountain Fork, where Cyrus Byington was in charge. It is not altogether clear as to why Koonsha received $3,000.00 by contrast to the $1,600.00 annually for Wheelock, Chuwahla, and Ianubbee. Perhaps because Koonsha was the only school placed in the Pushmataha District and was therefore planned to house a larger number of pupils. For the sake of uniformity the spellings used for the Choctaw names of the seminaries, Koonsha, Chuwahla, and Ianubbee, are those used by Joseph P. Folsom in Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation (Chahta Tamaha, 1869). Many variations of these spellings were noted among the various sources examined.

The first of the seven schools listed in the 1842 Act was Spencer Academy, the proposed successor to the Choctaw Academy. The Council kept this institution under its own direction, possibly, among other reasons, because Peter Pitchlynn hoped to be appointed its superintendent and also because the Choctaws desired to develop this school into a model of educational excellence for Indians. Location of the Academy was pinpointed in Section 2 of the Act as the "point on the Military Road where the buildings are now erecting under the direction of the Committee appointed in 1841, about nine miles north of Doaksville." The law further provided that each institution could use "as much land as may be needed" for cultivation and pasture and could "take from the public domain" any timber, rock, coal, or other materials which it might require. Section 7 stipulated that up to one tenth of the pupils could be orphans provided "so many apply for admission." Teaching of agriculture and mechanical arts was an essential for the "male schools," as was "housewifery and sewing, &," in the "female schools." These subjects, of course, would be taught "in addition to letters." Finally, the law specified that superintendents and teachers should be furnished "house-room and lodging," should "board at the same table with the pupils," and should not receive "on an average, a salary of more than four hundred dollars per annum, each."

Several additional school laws were passed to supplement the chief enactment at the 1842 session of the Council. One stipulated that a "light-horse man" should be appointed to "act at each of the public schools in this Nation," who should be selected by the trustees and superintendent of each school involved and "paid out of the school fund." Light-horsemen as law enforcement officers in the Choctaw Nation dated back to the Treaty of 1825, which furnished federal support for ten such mounted policemen in each of the three districts. Duties of the light-horsemen who served the schools were to be specified by the superintendents and trustees involved. One duty was spelled out by another act which provided that runaway children must be returned to school by their parents immediately or "be brought back by the light-horse [sic]." Another school law which concerned the light-horsemen prevented the establishment of a "store or trading house within three miles of any of the public schools." In addition, laws were enacted providing: for a two-year period of probation after which students "incapable of learning" would be dropped; that legal school ages for male students should be from ten to sixteen years and for female students from ages eight to fourteen; and that no family should be allowed to put more than one child at a time in "public institutions of this Nation" unless prepared to pay the expenses of any additional scholars.

As planned, with the exception of Spencer Academy, this school system could not have functioned except for agreements with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the Methodist Missionary Society to assume supervision of the institutions assigned to them. The missionaries, who might have helped prepare the law behind the scenes, accepted the proposals with alacrity. Meeting at Wheelock on December 12, 1842, with Alfred Wright as moderator and Cyrus Byington and one other missionary present, the Choctaw Mission of the American Board made the newly enacted Choctaw school law their first order of business. After the moderator read the act aloud a motion was made and passed that they recommend adoption of the proposals concerning American Board supervision of the four schools for girls designated by the law, "provided the U. S. Government approve of it." Kingsbury and Byington were designated a committee to draft a covering letter on the subject, to accompany a copy of the law mailed to the Prudential Committee of the American Board in Boston. Meeting at Good Water on April 17, 1843, the four seminaries were officially assigned by the Mission to their various superintendents, namely: Ianubbee to Cyrus Byington at Eagle Town; Wheelock to Alfred Wright; Chuwahla to Cyrus Kingsbury at Pine Ridge; and Koonsha to Ebenezer Hotchkin at Good Water.

The Methodist Missionary Society also moved quickly to seize the opportunity offered to them at Fort Coffee. Writing from Washington on February 4, 1843, Rev. E. B. Ames, a secretary of the Methodist Society who had justed visited the Choctaw country, outlined the Methodist plans for Indian education to the Rev. William H. Goode. Explaining to him the details of the 1842 Choctaw school law, Ames requested that Goode accept the superintendency of the Fort Coffee school. "After much prayer," Goode accepted. As for the approval of the United States Government, mentioned by the Choctaw Mission, there was never much doubt of Federal support for the proposed Choctaw school system. The Choctaw Agent, Major William Armstrong, in November, 1843, wrote a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in which he praised the Choctaws, observing that they were "improving, and with the ample means now in a course of expenditure, will be able to educate the great mass of the nation."

One more institution, not established by the law of 1842, should be mentioned since it filled a gap in the Choctaw educational system. This eighth institution was a third school for boys, Armstrong Academy, authorized by the General Council in 1843 to be established in the western part of the Pushmataha District. As a result each District had at least one male academy and one female seminary within its boundaries. With the establishment of Armstrong Academy, the Choctaw Nation and its school system were prepared to enter a new era of national accomplishment.

VI

SPENCER ACADEMY: THE EARLY YEARS

Of all the boarding schools funded by the Act of 1842, the institution for which the Choctaw leadership entertained the highest hopes was Spencer Academy, the only school over which the Council retained direct control. All the others were to be managed by contracts with Protestant missionary societies. The resolution of the Council in October, 1841, which requested that the Secretary of War discontinue allocation of Choctaw money for support of the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, set the deadline for April 1, 1842. This was approximately when Peter P. Pitchlynn, at the time nominally superintendent of the Choctaw Academy, withdrew the last of the Choctaw students from the Kentucky school. A copy of the October resolution arrived in Washington in December, 1841, in the care of Pitchlynn, the Council's representative designated to interpret the document to the newly appointed Secretary of War, John C. Spencer. Pitchlynn stressed the Choctaw desire for a school within the boundaries of their Nation "for the education of the rising generation" of young men as well as another institution "wholly designed for the education of the female children of our Nation."

In order to implement these desires the Council requested that the money previously assigned to the Choctaw Academy, "together with all other education funds belonging to the Nation, be placed under control of the General Council." Section 4 of the Resolution informed the War Department that a committee of six, two from each of the Choctaw districts, had been authorized to pick a site for the proposed school for boys, make building plans, and perform any other functions deemed necessary. The Council then requested that when the plans were completed, including estimated costs, the War Department would transmit immediately the "funds necessary to meet the progressive expenditure." Included among instructions to the committee of six was the expectation that they would "divest themselves of all local and sectional prejudices" in performance of their duties. The resolution also implied that the Chickasaws joined in this proposal, but there is no evidence of their approval. The Chickasaw District chief did not sign the Resolution, and Chickasaw boys continued to attend the Kentucky shoool almost until it was finally closed. Further, the Chickasaws then began construction of a Chickasaw Academy, and no instance has been found of Chickasaw students enrolled in Choctaw schools through official Chickasaw action. Instead, the Chickasaws initiated their own boarding school system, which began operation even before their official separation from the Choctaw Nation in 1855.

During the year which elapsed between passage of the resolution in October, 1841, withdrawing support from the Kentucky Academy and the October, 1842, meeting of the General Council, a "general awakening by the leading men of the tribe to the importance of education was manifest." This "general awakening" led to passage of the "Act respecting public schools" in October, 1842, which established a second school for boys, Fort Coffee Academy, and five schools for girls instead of the single one proposed in 1841. By 1845 two more schools for boys were established, to bring the total to four. But Spencer remained the institution which the Choctaws desired to be the leading school in the Nation, the one which would serve as a model for all the others.

Long before enactment of the Public School Act, however, the plans for actual construction of Spencer Academy were well advanced. On August 3, 1842, Agent Armstrong sent to the Commissioner in Washington for approval "contracts for buildings designed for the Choctaw Academy near Fort Towson, also groundwork of the buildings as it is expected they will be located." Nothing that the contracts were "very low," he stated that the preliminary planning had been done by a committee composed of himself, Cyrus Kingsbury and "two of the most intelligent Choctaws." This committee, which had replaced the original committee of six, was itself soon succeeded by a permanent Board of Trustees. The new board included William Armstrong, Choctaw Agent; Pitchlynn for Apukshunnubbee District; Robert M. Jones of Pushmataha District; and Thompson McKenney from the Mushulatubbee District. Pitchlynn was designated as president of the Board. The decision to name the school for the Secretary of War was made before passage of the Public School Act in November, 1842, since Spencer was the name used in the law. Pitchlynn, writing from "near Doak[s]ville" to Agent Armstrong on December 12, 1842, informed the latter that the "council appropriated eighteen thousand dollars out of the interest on the Chickasaw funds for educational purposes after this year" and that the two schools for boys were to be Fort Coffee Academy and "Noniwaiya Academy, (exclusively for males)." On December 27, 1842, however, in a letter to the Commissioner in Washington, Major Armstrong referred to the "school now called Spencer Academy," but made no mention of a "Noniwaiya" Academy. The funds originally designated for "Noniwaiya" were chiefly applied to the establishment of Armstrong Academy, a development to be discussed later.

The best known of the three Choctaw trustees was Peter P. Pitchlynn. He had been the driving force in closing the Choctaw Academy and arranging for the Choctaw educational funds to be put at the disposal of the General Council. As speaker of the Council, Pitchlynn had planned and secured passage of the necessary legislation for establishment of the Choctaw system of boarding schools. He had hoped to become superintendent of Spencer but, according to reports, was blocked from securing this appointment by Agent William Armstrong on the ground that he lacked the proper educational qualifications and experience for the position. By action of the Council in October, 1844, individual boards and committees for the various schools were replaced by a national board of trustees. Four in number, the 1844 appointees to this national board included Peter P. Pitchlynn, the member intended to represent the national interest, and one member from each of three districts. Apukshunnubbee District was represented by George W. Harkins, Pushmataha District by Jones, and Mushulatubbee District by McKenney. Agent Armstrong, as he had for the Spencer Academy Board, served as ex-officio member of this national school board.

In the meantime, however, the construction of buildings, purchase of supplies, and other preliminary arrangements for the opening of Spencer Academy had proceeded apace. By November, 1843, Agent Armstrong reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that Spencer, the Choctaw institution which he considered "to be the leading school in the nation," would soon be in operation. Armstrong wrote:

> The site where the buildings are erected is upon a beautiful eminence, with a fine spring of water, ten miles north of Fort Towson: the location is free from low or swampy grounds, and promises to be healthy. With all its resources and advantages, great and good results are justly anticipated by the friends of education among the Indians.

He reported that "annually, between eight and nine thousand dollars" would be assured for the financial support of Spencer. Hoping that school sessions could commence on January 1, 1844, Armstrong observed that "a crop was made the past season, and a garden cultivated" on the farm land adjoining the Academy site, so that food would be in stock to feed students, teachers, and other personnel when the institution opened its doors.

The first buildings were constructed of hewn pine logs and roofed with wooden shingles. Included were such utility structures as a storehouse, a smokehouse "with room for ten tons of bacon" plus fresh meat, lard, and soap, a springhouse "twelve by fifteen feet paved with stones," and stables and sheds to house the necessary cattle, horses, and swine and to store their feed. The main buildings consisted of dormitories and a classroom structure. In 1847, P. P. Brown, a visiting Baptist missionary teacher from Armstrong Academy, described the buildings as seen when he visited the Spencer campus. Approaching from the south, he entered a large yard "on the north side of the farm." Before him, Brown related, stood two large two-story frame buildings painted white. To his right as he faced north was Pitchlynn Hall, named in honor of the chairman of the board of trustees. The ground floor of this structure was used for living quarters by the superintendent and one of the teachers, while the upper story furnished dormitory space for several of the boys. Jones Hall, on his left, honoring Robert M. Jones, another trustee, was occupied by the principal teacher and "another portion of the pupils." On the north side of the square, fronting south, stood Armstrong Hall, its name honoring the Choctaw Agent, William Armstrong. A two-story structure "of the same size and form as the others," this building housed the primary teacher and the school carpenter on the lower floor, while the "remainder of the boys, principally the smaller ones" were domiciled on the second floor. Brown further noted that the "three halls have large piazzas extending the whole length, which renders them very pleasant and agreeable." The maximum number of students to be housed was set at one hundred.

The classroom building, a one-story log structure divided into "one large school room and two small recitation rooms," was located north of Jones Hall on the west side of the quadrangle. On the east side, north of Pitchlynn Hall, was a two-story building, occupied by the steward, his family, and some "female helpers." This may have been McKenney Hall, named for Thompson McKenney, fourth member of the Board. Peter J. Hudson, who attended Spencer Academy shortly after the Civil War, speaks of "the four buildings on the corners of the yard," namely, Pitchlynn, Jones, Armstrong, and McKenney Halls. In the rear of McKenney Hall was the dining room, a separate building "attached to which [was] the kitchen, bakery, and Tom Fuller [*ta fula* or Choctaw hominy] room." East of Pitchlynn Hall, near a store room and smokehouse, was a "lodging room for hired help." Presumably, other houses for farm workers stood south of the campus where the school farm was located. Agent Armstrong reported late in 1843 that books, bedding, agricultural implements, and "such furniture as could not be made at the school" had been purchased in the East and that the "greatest economy [had] been observed." He added:

> It is a seminary of which the nation is proud. The plan is their own, the expenditures are in their own country, and the whole under the control and observation of men of intelligence.

Information was not found as to how and when the decision was made that prevented Peter Pitchlynn from becoming the superintendent of Spencer Academy. Some kind of power struggle must have occurred behind the scenes, since the first Academy superintendent arrived on the scene rather late and had no part in the early planning and construction of the school. In fact, the principal teacher, William Wilson, who for several years had taught the District school at the Choctaw Agency and was a close friend of Agent Armstrong, was employed before the superintendent was; perhaps this aggravated the friction which later developed between the superintendent and his principal, who had himself been a candidate for the superintendency. Incidentally, the three District schools, taught by Wilson, Ramsay D. Potts, and H. G. Rind, were soon discontinued and the pupils of those schools assigned to the new academies, particularly Spencer. The man finally employed to head the Academy was Edmund McKinney, a missionary described by William H. Goode, his Methodist contemporary at Fort Coffee, as a "worthy Presbyterian minister of the Old School." Agent Armstrong referred to McKinney as a "Presbyterian clergyman . . . said to be well qualified for the station."

The appointment of McKinney was in line with sentiments expressed by Armstrong as early as December, 1842, when he stated that the superintendent, among his other duties, should "open the school with prayers and . . . preach." This obviously called for a clergyman. He further believed that a Presbyterian clergyman was preferable to one from another sect because of the "religious views of the nation." Armstrong added, "The section of the country around the academy is mostly of the denomination, and the expectation and arrangement is, that the academy shall partake of that denomination." Methodist missionary Henry C. Benson stated that early in 1843 McKinney had been sent by the Presbyterian Board of Missions to work among the Seminoles. However, "finding them in an unsettled condition" he decided "to abandon the effort" since "he could do nothing with any probability of success." McKinney was therefore immediately available for the superintendency of Spencer Academy and appeared to have the qualifications for the position desired by Armstrong and the other members of the Board of Trustees. He did not learn of his appointment until November 11, 1843, and it was December 8 before he arrived on the Spencer campus. The clothing for the students, bedding, beds, and other furniture "purchased in Boston" arrived at the landing on Red River about the time McKinney arrived at the Academy, and he, therefore, found it impossible to have the school opened on January 1, 1844, as desired by the trustees. Too much work was necessary to complete preparations for the accommodation of the students. But the superintendent immediately put men, especially carpenters, to the task of completing the necessary outbuildings and constructing heavy furniture, so that by mid-January, 1844, he could inform the trustees that the academy would be ready to receive scholars on February 1, 1844. The trustees then decided to admit sixty boys--"one from each company in the nation"--on that date and forty additional scholars--"to be chosen from the districts, according to their population"--on May 1, 1844. The trustees also provided for the appointment of two assistant teachers. Selected by William Wilson and McKinney, these were two mixed-blood Choctaws, Reuben Wright and Jonathan E. Dwight.

McKinney advised Agent Armstrong on August 29, 1844, that the desired number of students had been accommodated with difficulty and suggested the need for additional dormitory space. This was already forthcoming, since the trustees at their May meeting had authorized construction of "Jones's Hall, an additional range of loding-rooms," with completion scheduled for mid-October at an estimated cost of $2,000.00. It was to be "64 by 64, with double galleries, containing 8 rooms 16 feet square." As previously noted, three dormitories were in use by 1847. The superintendent closed his August 29 letter on an ironic note, acknowledging receipt of a "valuable bell for the use of the academy." About 250 pounds in weight, it had been presented to the school by "the Hon. John C. Spencer, former Secretary of War," after whom the institution had been named. But Secretary Spencer had already been appointed Secretary of the Treasury by President Tyler on March 3, 1843, before the Academy opened, and his namesake came under the control and direction of his successor, James M. Porter. As Secretary of War Porter did not, however, interfere with plans for the Academy.

The desired enrollment was soon achieved and slightly surpassed. Fifty-seven were enrolled by the end of February, 1844, and by late August the total enrollment for the term had reached 109; ninety-five of these were boarding students and fourteen were "day scholars" from the neighborhood. As is true of any institution, the total enrollment was larger than the attendance at any one time. Superintendent Edmund McKinney--not to be confused with Thompson McKenney of the Board of Trustees--wrote Agent Armstrong at the close of the first term that the "total number of scholars has varied considerably at different times, owing to frequent desertions, especially in the beginning of the term." The Superintendent reported thirty "cases of desertion," but noted that several of these were second or third offenses by the same individual.

An impartial observer, who visited Spencer on March 27, 1844, was N. Sayre Harris, Secretary and General Agent of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Noting that the "buildings [were] not yet completed upon the requisite scale," he observed "about 75 . . . scholars in attendance" and added:

> The school-room was quite crowded with Indian boys, intently pursuing their studies, while some were reciting; the quiet and order of the Indian schools is astonishing, and the pupils are said to be tractable in the highest degree. As the bell rang for

> dinner, we were ushered into the common dining room; we have seen no commons, not even excepting that of the Military Academy, where greater neatness, cleanliness, comfort and plenty prevail.

Harris observed that the boys worked outside three hours each day, an hour and a half in the morning and a similar period during the afternoon. In late March, he noted, during these work periods the youngsters were "employed . . . in improving the grounds, but will ere long be made to raise sufficient cotton to keep them in groceries and clothing . . . ."

Superintendent McKinney gave the results of the farming operation in his August, 1844, report. All of the scholars were required to work, "when well, three hours per day." Forty boys were employed on the farm most of the summer of 1844, twenty "hoeing the corn after the ploughs, and twenty in clearing new ground." Of the "new ground," McKinney reported that some fifteen acres was cleared and "got ready for cultivation next season . . . ." The remainder of the students performed other chores, "according to their strength," not only on the farm, but in the garden and elsewhere on the premises. The farming operation was under the supervision of George C. Farquhar, the principal crop consisting of fifty-five acres of Indian corn, "considered one of the best raised this year in this part of the nation." Hope was expressed that "by another year" the farm would pay all expenses for food and "in part for clothing" at the Academy.

For academic instruction the scholars were divided into three departments, one of the criteria for assignment to a group being some knowledge of English. The "1st department," which included the more advanced students and consisted of thirty-three "boarding scholars" and three "day scholars," was placed under the special care of William Wilson, the principal teacher. He reported that, although all understood English, some did not speak it. This department was subdivided into four classes, the largest of which, twenty boys, received instruction in spelling, reading, and "Emerson's Arithmetic, 1st part." Another class of eight studied spelling, reading, writing, geography, and "Emerson's 1st and 2d parts." A class of six studied English grammar and "Emerson's 2d and 3d parts"; one of this group also received instruction in algebra. The most advanced class, only two boys, wrestled with Latin--"Caesar's Commentaries"--and "Emerson's Arithmetic, part 3d."

The "2d department" was assigned to Reuben Wright. Numbering thirty-eight, of whom six were day scholars, twenty-six knew only Choctaw and the remaining twelve understood but did not speak English. As a result, a majority of twenty-three were reported as having "commenced with the alphabet." Classes one, two, and three of Wright's department, twenty-nine in all, studied "Emerson's Arithmetic, 1st part," reading, and spelling. The fourth class of six boys studied only spelling; the three remaining formed a "5th class" and were listed as "studying in six letters."

Jonathan E. Dwight served as instructor for the "3d department" of thirty-five students, of whom thirty were boarding scholars. Only one of the thirty-five understood any English and twenty-seven were scholars who had entered Spencer on May 1, 1844. The "1st class" of ten boys were advanced enough, possibly from previous instruction in neighborhood schools, to study reading, spelling, and "Emerson's Arithmetic, 1st part." But the other three classes in this division studied only spelling, to wit: "2d class, 9 boys, spelling in three syllables; 3d class, 10 boys, spelling in two syllables, &c; 4th class, 6 boys, spelling in four letters,

&c." Dwight's method was explained thus: "The teacher, understanding both languages, generally explains the English words which occur in spelling, in the vernacular language."

As the school interpreter, "himself a Choctaw," Dwight interpreted the Sunday morning sermons and the Sunday afternoon periods of "religious instruction" by Superintendent McKinney which "all of the scholars [were] required to attend." Morning and evening prayers were also part of the "strong religious influence exerted" on the Spencer scholars. Dwight, it might be added, had worked with several of the American Board missionaries who translated the Scriptures into Choctaw, and the initials "J. E. D." indicate his part in translating hymns which appear in the Choctaw Hymn Book (Chahta Uba Isht Taloa Holisso). During 1850-1851 Dwight was editor and publisher of a weekly newspaper at Doaksville, The Choctaw Intelligencer. One of the four pages of each issue was in Choctaw, and undoubtedly this page was Dwight's contribution. His own educational background was not discovered. Grant Foreman reported that Dwight "lived in the family of Amos Smith, Jr., his teacher at Yale College in 1836," and that he had "much difficulty in mastering the English language." A 1974 inquiry, however, elicited the response from the Chief Research Archivist at Yale University that no records could be found concerning either Dwight or his teacher.

McKinney's report on the first term taught at Spencer Academy gave no indication of difficulties which must have already begun to develop in the management of the institution. But his report at the close of the first complete school year, October 7, 1844, through July 31, 1845, ended with the statement that he was "about to relinquish [his] part as superintendent" of Spencer. The reasons for his resignation were many, and

McKinney's situation must have become intolerable to a man of any pride and sensitivity. On the other hand, perhaps he was somewhat strait-laced and lacked understanding of the motivations of his Indian proteges and subordinates. His July 31 letter listed several developments during the previous year which had caused more than the usual number of problems and led McKinney to comment that the "year [had] been one of great difficulty and discouragement." Among these were a partial crop failure which made provisions "exceedingly scarce and dear"; difficulty in securing "suitable supplies of groceries and of clothing for students" when navigation of both the Red and Arkansas rivers were interrupted by low water; the closing of the school between March 19 and April 21 because of measles; the problem of securing competent help; and the unusual expenses caused by the above problems. The report was not all gloomy, however. Some "105 acres are in corn," McKinney reported, from which a "good return" was expected, as well as from those acres which had been planted in sweet potatoes, pumpkins, and peas. And thirty-five tons of "good prairie hay" had been "laid up" along with "60,000 bundles of fodder."

But what made McKinney's situation unbearable was not just the problems listed, most of which were temporary, but the failure of the Trustees to sustain "the head of the institution in the full exercise of authority," as he worded it. After a visit to Spencer in November, 1844, William H. Goode, Methodist missionary who was superintendent of Spencer Academy's brother institution at Fort Coffee, made some pertinent observations concerning McKinney's basic administrative problem. Goode mentioned the apparent advantages of Spencer Academy as an institution, such as the fact that it was "well endowed" and staffed by a "competent superintendent and able instructors." These advantages, he believed, "led the prominent families of the Nation, principally half-breeds, to seek admission for their students . . . ." But these boys then proved insubordinate. They were prone to run away and when brought back by the light-horse, some even tried to set fire to the buildings. Because of the administrative structure, no one could really exercise executive authority and, according to Goode, when supplies were exhausted and the money ran out, credit was refused to the institution by merchants of the area. Goode, not exactly an impartial critic, described the situation at Fort Coffee Academy, by contrast, as one where the school was "under the control of a single hand, responsible only to the authorities of the Church and the /_Methodist_7 Missionary Society," and where no debts had arisen, nor insubordination nor absenteeism developed in the largely full-blood student body.

Another difficulty for Superintendent McKinney stemmed from the close relationship between William Wilson, principal teacher, and the Choctaw Agent. For several years prior to his employment at Spencer Academy, Wilson had taught the district school near the Agency at Skullyville and lived in the home of Agent Armstrong, whose wife had been dead for several years. Henry C. Benson, principal teacher at nearby Fort Coffee Academy, in 1843 described the Armstrong household thus: "His family consisted of himself, two sons, a little daughter, Mr. Irwin, his clerk, and Mr. Wilson, the school-teacher. He had a son and daughter at college in the east." Wilson, a graduate of Washington College, Pennsylvania, was Armstrong's original candidate for the superintendency of Spencer Academy. In December, 1842, Major Armstrong wrote the Commissioner at Washington that:

> I understand one of the resolutions of the council is, that there shall not be any salary over four

> hundred dollars, and boarded at the institution; this sum will not command the services of such a man as should be principal of Spencer Academy; I would therefore recommend that Mr. Wilson, who teaches near the agency, be appointed principal or president of Spencer academy; he is well qualified, and the choice, I know, of the Choctaw Nation. Mr. Wilson will not undertake [the position] for less than his present salary, and can readily obtain that in Arkansas.

In any case, Wilson was employed as principal teacher before McKinney arrived, and was on the campus and in charge of the school when the superintendent appeared on the scene. Some observations by William H. Goode concerning the relationship of Wilson and McKinney are enlightening. Goode described Wilson as a "fine literary gentleman of amiable character and experience in Indian affairs," who was appointed principal teacher at a higher salary than that of Superintendent McKinney. Wilson did receive more than the "four hundred dollars per annum," listed as the highest amount "on an average" authorized by the Act of 1842. His salary was the $833.33 which he had received as teacher of the District school at Skullyville, while McKinney was paid the $400.00 average. To a dedicated missionary, the salary might have made little difference, but according to Goode, McKinney also agreed to an arrangement which must have soon proved galling in extreme.

This agreement, probably oral, provided that McKinney should consult Wilson about management of the institution, and Wilson in turn "should consult Major A." Goode noted that this situation, "combined with the authority of the National Council" made it difficult to place responsibility. It would appear that Agent Armstrong, a member of the Board, was trying to keep day-by-day control of the institution rather than to allow the proper officials to operate the school responsibly and free from interference in the handling of daily problems. Pitchlynn, the Board chairman, also was a cause of friction. For example, Pitchlynn arranged the appointment of David Folsom, a nephew, as farmer for the Academy at a salary McKinney considered too high. In turn, Folsom was a constant adverse critic of the superintendent, and with impunity since he was under Pitchlynn's protection. On one occasion Pitchlynn interfered with the letting of a contract for construction of a dormitory and on another considered withdrawing his son from the Academy as a protest of McKinney's policies. "His authority so challenged," wrote David Baird, "McKinney resigned in October, 1845." It was June 1, 1846, almost a year later, before a successor to McKinney was appointed and on the job.

McKinney's departure triggered a state of emergency at Spencer and an immediate decision had to be made as to the future administration of the Academy. The Board of Trustees concluded that the attempt to operate the institution under the direct supervision of the Council had failed and suggested that steps be taken to place Spencer under the direction of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in Philadelphia. Even Pitchlynn, to use the words of David Baird, "admitted that he and the Nation were unprepared to direct a school with an enrollment of one hundred students." Oddly, William Wilson, the principal teacher, was not made acting superintendent. Perhaps he had become too closely identified with the forces held responsible for previous administrative failures, but the reasons for passing him over are not clear. Instead Reuben Wright was appointed acting superintendent and was in charge during most of the 1845-1846 school year. To the credit of Wilson, he did remain at Spencer as principal teacher until the arrival of the new superintendent, one James B. Ramsey. Then, to use Ramsey's words, Wilson "very unexpectedly, both to the board and to myself, resigned his office" and "left immediately. . . ." When Wilson departed, on May 31, 1846, Agent Armstrong assigned him to a nonteaching job. His salary of $833.33, as a "treaty teacher" under the provisions of Article XX, Treaty of 1830, was thereafter paid to the superintendent of Spencer Academy.

Ramsey's selection was the result of an Act passed by the General Council on October 7, 1845, which placed Spencer under "Assembly's Board," provided the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions would agree to contribute $2,000 annually and to conduct Spencer in accordance with arrangements similar to those made with the other church groups under terms of the School Act of 1842. Cyrus Kingsbury, dean of the American Board missionaries, was requested to correspond with the Presbyterian Board and "urge them to come and take charge of the Institution at the earliest time possible." The "earliest time possible" was months after passage of the October 7 resolution. To send a message to the Board in Philadelphia, especially an unsolicited and unexpected one, and to receive a reply in the Choctaw Nation consumed weeks. Making the decisions, finding the money, and employing the right person also took weeks. But Superintendent Ramsey wrote, concerning the Presbyterian Board, that:

> . . . though pressed with calls from various quarters, [it] felt that this one was of too much importance and interest to be neglected, and accordingly . . . accepted the institution, on the conditions proposed by the council, and immediately prepared to take charge of it.

Delays ensued so that it was June 1, 1846, before Superintendent Ramsey took over control of Spencer from Reuben Wright, acting superintendent. Six weeks remained in the school term and the problems of the new superintendent had been compounded by the unexpected departure of William

Wilson, principal teacher. Although unable to secure a replacement for Wilson on such short notice, Ramsey was able to complete the term "more successfully and profitably than was anticipated." Before the opening of the fall term in October, Oliver P. Stark, a graduate of Princeton, had arrived to serve as principal teacher.

Ramsey had many worries as he sought to restore the school to a normal condition after the confusion which had resulted from the changes in leadership. He found the school some $3,000 in debt. At the same time the buildings were run-down; equipment was damaged, some beyond repair, or missing; supplies were running low; and a new schoolhouse and a number of minor improvements were badly needed. To restore the physical plant and secure the supplies so badly needed involved considerable extra expense for which immediate funding was needed. Ramsey reminded Major Armstrong that in "conducting an institution like this, it is a great advantage to have the funds in advance," and it was an "unfavorable circumstance that the expenses are always in advance of the appropriation." Ramsey's recommendations were not heeded, but the school did survive; however, it failed to prosper under Ramsey's leadership or at least as much as the Choctaw leaders had hoped.

Superintendent Ramsey's report for the 1846-1847 term mentioned an epidemic which caused the death of several boys. This alone might account for the fact that only seventy-eight were in attendance for the July examination, a drop of twenty from the ninety-eight enrolled when Ramsey took charge on June 1, 1846. Ramsey also noted that there were several Latin classes "in various stages of advancement"; that he was introducing the study of music; that "speaking and composition are weekly exercises"; and that two and one-half hours daily were spent by the boys "in agricultural and mechanical labor, under the direction of their teachers." Apparently this was the last report made by Superintendent Ramsey to the Choctaw Agent. In the summer of 1848 the Agent remarked that he had received reports from every Choctaw school except Spencer; and in the summer of 1849 Ramsey left the Choctaw Nation without submitting a report. One reason for his departure is the mute evidence on a tombstone in the Spencer Academy Cemetery, bearing this legend:

> In memory of a beloved wife and child, Mrs. Elizabeth P. Ramsey, daughter of Nathan and Isaiah Peck of New York City and wife of the Rev. James B. Ramsey, Missionary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to the Choctaws, who died at Spencer Academy, July 17, 1849, aged 31 years 7 months; also of Nathan William Ramsey, aged 17 months 12 days. And I heard a voice from Heaven saying, blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.

The successor named by Assembly's Board to replace Ramsey was Alexander Reid, a native Scotsman whose family had migrated to the United States during Reid's boyhood. A baccalaureate graduate of Princeton in 1845, as well as of Princeton Theological Seminary in 1848, he was ordained by the Presbytery of New York in 1849. Reid accepted a commission to serve as a missionary to the Choctaws and was immediately appointed superintendent of Spencer Academy. When he arrived in the Choctaw Nation, if not aware of the situation before his appointment, Reid was immediately confronted by the fact that all was not well at Spencer. Choctaw dissatisfaction with results of the educational program at Spencer was detailed in the report of the Board of Trustees after they had conducted the annual examination of the Academy on August 2, 1849. First recalling the hope that when placed under the Presbyterian Board the school "would have been improved and established on a firm basis," the Trustees reported that "our expectations have not been fully realized in the attainments made by the students in the knowledge of books." They did praise a few scholars who had made "some progress in their studies," especially those under Miss Susan Dutcher. And without further explanation the Trustees announced: "Mr. Ramsey, the superintendent, together with the teachers heretofore employed, have left the institution, and it is now under the care and supervision of Mr. Reid and new teachers."

On August 6, Mr. Reid received the communication from the Trustees informing him of the Choctaw dissatisfaction with Spencer. While acknowledging that "frequent changes" at the institution were a cause of lack of progress--no mention was made of epidemics, although in 1848 Assembly's Board had found it necessary to send "Doctor Fishback . . . a kind and able Physician" to reside at the Academy--the Trustees recommended a reorganization of the Academy. They believed that too many Choctaw boys were gathered into one large group for them to learn to speak English effectively, a primary goal for the Choctaw schools, and suggested that Mr. Reid consult his Board about dividing Spencer into two divisions. Mr. Ramsey's Latin classes might have been taught with the conviction that a knowledge of Latin would facilitate the learning of English, although in actual fact the Latin instruction was probably counterproductive for Choctaw students trying to master English.

Although not mentioned by the Trustees, it was also alleged, as it had been in the case of the Choctaw Academy, that the students at Spencer received no really effective instruction in agriculture and the "mechanic arts." One critic noted the presence of a carpenter's shop at Spencer, and remarked that "little if any good has resulted from it." As a result of the failure in this area, this critic concluded that the boys were "thrown upon the nation without having been trained up to the luxury of laboring at the mechanic arts." Finally, in words of the Trustees so disappointed with the educational program at Spencer: "Although a larger amount of funds is annually expended at this than any other institution . . . yet we have derived comparatively little good from it."

But Alexander Reid proved to be the right man in the right place. His letter of September 28, 1849, replying to the suggestions of the Trustees was printed in full, so that all interested Choctaws could know his point of view. It appeared in the October 25 issue of the *Choctaw Telegraph,* a newspaper newly established at Doaksville, near Fort Towson. Referring to the letter from the Trustees who had asked his opinion on the "division of Spencer Academy," Reid replied at length. He was "truly sorry" that the Choctaw people, to quote the Trustees, were "satisfied that they [had] erred in establishing so large an institution as Spencer Academy" and that unless the institution was divided that the "bright hopes" of the Choctaw people would be "blasted forever." To the contrary, Reid stated, Assembly's Board was convinced that the plan of the Academy was good and they would have "nothing to do with it on any other." The Board, he continued, had really tried to promote the interests of the Academy, annually expending a "much larger sum" than they had orignally agreed to spend in order to make it a "fountain perpetually sending forth . . . streams of healthful, industrial, social, intellectual and moral influences to [illegible] and beautify every portion of the land with the fruits of knowledge, virtue, and religion."

Acknowledging that Assembly's Board realized, in spite of "all the care, labor, and expense bestowed upon the Academy by them," that Spencer had met "neither their own expectations nor the expectations of your people," Reid explained that difficulties "which the Board could not have foreseen" had caused Spencer's troubles. The missionary teachers sent out by the Board had not worked together. "The teachers," he wrote, "did not harmonize with each other, nor with the superintendent," which made it impossible for the school to prosper and brought it "to the very brink of destruction." This occurred, Reid argued, not because of the "plan of the institution" but because of the "character and temper of those who were employed to carry out the plan." Rather than change to another plan, Reid requested that a year of probation be given to him--"prove us for one year longer" were his words--and assured the Choctaws that "my whole soul is in the work before me," adding "we ask no more at present, only let us alone." The Trustees did let him alone and, except for one year in the late fifties when Gaylord L. More acted as superintendent, were rewarded with twelve good years at Spencer under Reid's leadership.

Reid's initial teaching staff numbered four, of whom Miss Dutcher, praised in the Board's 1849 report, was one. The other three were men who had been his classmates at Princeton Theological Seminary, and Reid assured the Choctaws that he knew them well as men "of education and talent" who would "act the part both of schoolmaster and parent" to their pupils. The personnel changed often during the 1850s but Alexander Reid remained in charge throughout the period; he was assisted, as were most of the missionaries to the Choctaws, by a faithful wife. In 1853, when the total enrollment reached 141, the total number of teachers and workers was twenty, when four wives are included. Besides Superintendent Reid and three teachers, also listed were: a farmer and two assistants; a mechanic; two seamstresses; two kitchen assistants; three "black women in washhouse"; and one "black man as teamster." The blacks, not named, were probably slaves owned by neighboring Choctaw citizens who leased their services to the Academy. In 1871 Alexander Reid wrote down several plantation spirituals for the Fisk Jubilee singers which he remembered from his days at Spencer. Included were "Steal Away to Jesus" and "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," which Reid had heard sung many times by Uncle Wallace and Aunt Minerva, slaves owned by Britt Willis, a Choctaw citizen, when they worked at Spencer during the 1850s.

The number of boarding students at Spencer during the 1850s was usually more than the hundred pupils specified by the contract with the Choctaw Nation. In the school year 1852-1853, the total enrollment of 141 included 110 boys on the Choctaw appropriation and thirty-one "Beneficiaries" of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. These latter were students supported by individual Presbyterian churches and Sunday schools in the United States. For example, a student named Charles R. Winston was specified in the 1857 report as the beneficiary of the "Sabbath School of Hamilton, Ohio." Winston was characterized as a "pious" young man who desired to study medicine, and the missionaries expressed the hope that he would also enter the ministry. The 1859-1860 school year was the last reported before Spencer was closed at the outbreak of the Civil War. The enrollment at that time was 130 boys, of whom 110 were on the Choctaw appropriation, and Superintendent Reid noted that an even hundred boys were examined at the end of the term. Completion of the term by such a large number is surprising, but was typical of the attendance during Reid's administration.

Homesickness was a prime cause for leaving school. Superintendent Reid, for example, in 1852 reported a total enrollment of 136; of this number eighty-eight were returning scholars and forty-eight were newcomers.

Then he mentioned that twelve boys had departed without leave between October 6 and December 1, adding: "All but one ran away, and were not sent back." There were no runaways after December 1, although five more boys went home because of illness and a sixth "by permission, for good reasons." Sickness and death brought sad times on occasion. In February, 1851, Mrs. Susan Dutcher Morrison "rested from her labors" after teaching at Spencer "only two years and two months" and only a short time after her marriage to Samuel Morrison, another missionary. Her tombstone at Spencer reads:

> Born Tarrytown, New York, Nov. 15, 1815
> Died suddenly at
> Pine Ridge Choctaw Nation, Feb. 4th, 1851
> After three hours of intense suffering
> on the roadside between Spencer
> Academy and that place.

On July 6, 1853, John Reid, brother of the superintendent, "departed this life, after an illness of only six days." Generally speaking, however, the mortality rate among the staff was not excessively high for the frontier on that day.

Illness among the boys was sometimes fatal, of course, but it is remarkable that so few died, when the lack of medical care and facilities is brought to mind. In May, 1851, an epidemic of measles caused the cancellation of the final examinations; the boys were cared for at the Academy and sent home after the disease had run its course. At another time, seventy were sick during a period of four weeks; two died of the measles and two from other causes. In the fall of 1851 three "very interesting little boys" died of the whooping cough, but all of the nineteen boys who caught the measles in the spring of 1852 recovered. For the two years from 1852 through 1854 unusually good health prevailed among the pupils, although in the fall of 1854 two boys died of "bilious dysentery." In the spring of 1857 a "promising boy of 8 years of age" succumbed to the same ailment. For some years no mention whatever was made concerning sickness; and if the presumption is correct that no serious illness was prevalent during those terms, then the conclusion is supported that Spencer Academy was a healthful place to be during the 1850s.

The final examinations at the end of a term were days to which all concerned looked forward with pleasure. Superintendent James B. Ramsey was so impressed by the examinations given in July, 1846, only a few weeks after his arrival at Spencer, that he described the events in some detail in a letter printed in the October, 1846, issue of The Foreign Missionary Chronicle. A "great many people," he wrote, arrived the day before the examinations were to be given and included the trustees, chiefs, and head men. The next morning they continued to arrive from all directions, "almost every one leading another horse for one of the boys to ride home . . . ." As a result 150 guests were served dinner on examination day, so that "a beef, three hogs, and two sheep," which had been killed the day before, "disappeared" along with a "moderate quantity of bacon."

The exercises commenced at "7½ 'clock" and continued until three, with "about an hour's recess for dinner . . . ." The examination covered the work of classes in English, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, natural philosophy, United States history, algebra, and "Latin reader." Ramsey noted that he himself "examined one boy in Horace, who had been reciting to me since I came." Occasionally between classes, speeches were made by some of the boys, which Ramsey thought "tended somewhat to vary the exercises, and add to their interest." When the examinations had been concluded--all present, according to Ramsey, "freely expressed their approbation"--the people assembled under the trees where the day was concluded with speeches by Superintendent Ramsey and various Choctaw leaders. The "general drift" of the talks concerned the advantages of education and was intended to arouse popular support for the schools. Later examinations often consumed even more time than the one of 1846. At least in 1852, Alexander Reid stated that the examination in July of that year which was conducted in the presence of a number of visitors, including two Trustees, Stephen Cochenauer and Peter P. Pitchlynn, "occupied twenty solid hours [sic]." Reid did not so state, but surely the event covered more than a single day.

For several reasons Spencer Academy received far greater financial support than any other Choctaw boarding school. As the designated successor of the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, it was the first institution to be established; Choctaw leaders wished it to be a model of excellence and were prone to be more liberal in their support for Spencer than for any of the institutions founded subsequently. Also, Spencer inherited from the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky the support from the Indian Civilization Fund which had begun during Calhoun's years as Secretary of War. Further, when the Presbyterian Board took control in 1845, it was with the purpose of making Spencer a mission school unmatched in its performance as an educator of Indian boys for Christian leadership. And, of course, Spencer was larger than any of the other schools. Available records show that the annual expenditures between 1846, when the Presbyterian Board took charge, and the close of the 1857-1858 school term averaged more than $11,000 per term. The yearly budget for Spencer Academy derived from three sources: first, $6,000 from funds appropriated by the Choctaw Council; second, $2,000 from the Indian Civilization Fund, a

Federal appropriation; and third, a varying amount from the Presbyterian Board, usually larger than the $2,000 specified by the contract with the Choctaw Nation. For example, the Board's contribution to Spencer was $3,141 in 1847; $2,337 in 1854; and $6,223 in 1857. Only in 1852 and 1856 did the Board's contribution fall below the required $2,000 and these deficiencies were more than overcome by the surplus gifts in other years.

Spencer Academy was closed, along with the other boarding schools, at the outbreak of the Civil War. The last annual report examined, for the 1859-1860 term, indicated a prosperous and satisfactory year: enrollment of 130, one hundred boys present for the final examination of June 27, and no mention of sickness or death. During the following year, however, the Choctaw Nation, drawn into the Civil War as an ally of the Confederate States of America, became an unhealthy place for most Yankee missionaries, since many were rightly considered to be abolitionists and therefore dangerous to the Southern cause. So the schools were closed at the end of the 1860-1861 year and many of the teachers from the northern states returned to their homes. Sue McBeth, an Iowa native who had been teaching at Good Water, was one who returned north at this time. She was with a party of missionaries who returned north in June, 1861, and stayed a few days at Spencer waiting for missionaries from other stations to join the group before heading north on the road to Fort Smith. Miss McBeth was much impressed by Spencer Academy, even in such a troubled time, and wrote in her diary:

> Spencer is a beautiful place. Everything in and around the Academy is in the most perfect order, and the Institution would do credit to any of the states.
>
> Many of the leading men in the churches, and of the government have been pupils of Spencer, and from

> its halls an influence has gone out which has been felt, in blessing, in every part of the Nation.

The retreating missionaries could not foresee this, of course, but Spencer Academy was to be re-opened in 1870 to serve the Choctaw Nation for another quarter century.

VII

METHODISTS AT WORK: FORT COFFEE AND NEW HOPE

The second institution named in the Public School Act of 1842 was Fort Coffee Academy in the Mushulatubbee District. Unlike Spencer, this school was to have a "Female branch . . . located in the same vicinity." An appropriation of "six thousand dollars per annum" was made, to come from the interest on the funds received for the sale of land to the Chickasaws in 1837 and was to be used for both the male and female schools. They were offered for "direction and management" to the "Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church," if that Society would agree to contribute a thousand dollars per year to their support. The Methodists accepted the offer, began planning to establish the proposed schools, and immediately started recruiting qualified people to take over the projects.

At least two Methodist sources mentioned a "Nunnewaya" Academy for boys, which was to be situated on the Kiamichi River in the vicinity of the Nanih Waya council house. The site was near the present town of Tuskahoma. Henry C. Benson, one of the first teachers at Fort Coffee, recalled that Rev. Wesley C. Browning of the Missouri Conference stayed at Fort Coffee for five weeks during the late spring and early summer of 1844. According to Benson, Browning had been appointed superintendent of "Nunnewaya" Academy on the Kiamichi River and was "on his way to the place of its location" when heavy rains and the resulting floods marooned him at Fort Coffee. Discouraged, Browning returned to St. Louis from Fort Coffee and the Choctaws, "dissatisfied because nothing was done," withdrew the appropriations. In a letter to William Armstrong, dated December 12, 1842, Peter P. Pitchlynn, in listing the schools authorized by the Public School Act, does not mention Spencer Academy but instead a "Nonihwaiya academy, (exclusively for males,) near the council house." But the law, as printed in Folsom's Constitution and Laws and "approved, November, 1842," although it mentioned Spencer Academy by name and located it nine miles north of Fort Towson, made no reference to a Nanih Waya Academy. Pitchlynn was speaker of the Council which passed the 1842 law, so that his reference to a "Nonihwaiya academy" in December seems strange. In his annual letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on October 25, 1844, Agent William Armstrong stated that a third school for boys, "that was to have been established at Nannawaya," had been abandoned on account of "objections to the location." Ironically, when a third boys' academy was organized, it received Armstrong's name, rather than a Choctaw title, and the funds originally intended for the Nanih Waya Academy were later used for Armstrong Academy and some neighborhood schools. Since "Nonihwaiya" Academy was never established, Fort Coffee Academy and New Hope Seminary, as the "female branch" of Fort Coffee was named, remained the only Choctaw schools managed by the Methodists.

Groundwork for Methodist involvement in the Choctaw educational effort was laid when Rev. E. B. Ames, "western Secretary" of the Methodist mission board, visited the Choctaw Nation soon after his appointment in 1840. Mr. Ames conferred with Agent William Armstrong at the Choctaw Agency and met and talked with a number of Choctaw leaders. One of the subjects discussed was education and the views of the Secretary on this topic impressed both the Choctaws and Major Armstrong. One source indicates that Ames may have been a visitor to the Council in 1842, when the Public School Act was being written, and possibly gave the lawmakers the benefit of his views on education at that time. Agent Armstrong, in a letter to the Commissioner of

Indian Affairs in late December, 1842, mentioned Ames favorably.

> The Rev. Mr. Ames, I understand, will visit Washington; he has been some time in the Indian country, and I would respectfully refer you to him for general information upon the subject of schools.

It seems likely that Ames had assured the Choctaws of Methodist interest in their new school program while the law was being written.

Whatever the details of the involvement of Mr. Ames with the Choctaws, he wrote from Washington on February 4, 1843, to Rev. William H. Goode, presiding elder of the South Bend District of the Indiana Conference, and requested that Goode accept the superintendency of the projected academy at Fort Coffee. After "much prayer on the part of Brother Goode and his wife," they decided to go to the Choctaw Nation. A letter, dated March 9, 1843, signed by both Bishop Joshua Soule of the Indiana Conference and Bishop Thomas A. Morris of the Arkansas Conference to which Goode was being transferred, stated Goode's official commission in these words:

> This is to certify that you have been duly appointed to the superintendency of Fort Coffee Academy, in the Choctaw Nation, to which station you will repair with as little delay as the circumstances . . . will admit. In organizing this institution you are expected to adhere to the stipulations entered into between the civil authorities of the nation and our Missionary Secretary, Rev. E. B. Ames. Especially in the selection of the teachers you will have strict regard to their literary, moral, and religious character. And it is greatly to be desired that all persons to be employed in the different departments of the institution shall be such as to afford an example of morality and piety in every respect worthy of imitation.

Goode's chief assistant was Henry C. Benson, named principal teacher at Fort Coffee soon after Goode's appointment. Benson was also of the

Indiana Conference, having served as "junior preacher of Mooresville circuit." He too was transferred to the Arkansas Conference and probably was selected by Goode to be the principal teacher because he was a young minister with whom Goode had worked and had learned to admire for his dedication and ability. In later life both Goode and Benson wrote their memoirs, which have survived in print and furnish many details of the early years of Fort Coffee Academy. One who reads Goode's *Outposts of Zion* and Benson's *Life among the Choctaw Indians* today can develop the feeling that he was at Fort Coffee more than a century ago, but the reader must be on guard against certain inaccuracies to which old men writing from memory are subject. None of these errors are of great importance, although the reader of today may disagree with some of their generalizations concerning not only Choctaws but Indians generally. But Choctaws today can be proud of an educational heritage which prompted Goode to write that, "Probably no nation on earth has ever applied so large a proportion of its public revenue to the cause of education."

Soon after receiving his commission, Mr. Goode traveled to Cincinnati, where he procured needed equipment and supplies for his mission and employed a German couple, Mr. and Mrs. A. Shultz, to serve as cook and housekeeper. The trip to the Choctaw country was made by steamboat, via the Ohio, Mississippi, and Arkansas rivers. When the party arrived at the Fort Coffee landing above Fort Smith on April 17, 1843, they found their work cut out for them. The buildings at Fort Coffee, established by the army in June, 1834, and abandoned in November, 1838, had been returned to Choctaw control. But no use had been made of them by the Indians and Goode found the buildings, which were "cheap, frail, [and] unsubstantial" to begin with, in a sad state of disrepair. The immediate task was to repair and renovate the property, a chore to which Mr. Goode and his companions applied themselves without delay.

Fortunately the walls and chimneys were found to be in good condition, but much work had to be done on the roofs, windows, doors, floors, porches, and fences. Skilled workmen, such as carpenters, plasterers, and brick masons, were employed as well as other temporary hands as needed. Work was also begun on a new two-story frame house for accomodation of two families, and a small field, previously used by the army, was fenced, cleared, plowed, and planted to corn and vegetables. Late in June, when the work of restoration was well under way, Mr. Goode returned to Indiana for his family and to secure needed furniture for the school. He hoped to return by the first of November.

On June 26, 1843, Mr. and Mrs. Benson arrived, a few days too late to confer with Mr. Goode before his departure. However, Benson reported that Goode had left such "full, specific, and satisfactory information relating to every interest of the mission," that the work of renovation continued without a hitch under the direction of Benson as superintendent pro tem. The Bensons were impressed with the beauty of the site at Fort Coffee, shaded by oak, hickory, black locust, box elder, elm, cedar, pine, persimmon, and walnut trees. Noting that only the elms were of large growth, Benson remarked that the "ground was, indeed, a magnificent park" where "God himself had planted the trees . . . ." The old Fort buildings, all one-story, were arranged in a hollow square, the ground inside being covered with a "rich sward of blue grass," probably planted by the Army, which remained green all winter. Each side of the square measured a hundred feet, the fourth side being open to the north and commanding a view of the Arkansas river. At this point the river bank was a perpendicular bluff of solid rock, rising more than sixty feet above the low water mark. Fort Coffee itself was set back from this bluff on a rise some hundred feet above the river. Other names applied to this location at various times before the establishment of Fort Coffee were Swallow Rock and Herrold's Bluff.

During the summer and fall of 1843 work on the buildings, new and old, progressed satisfactorily under Benson's direction. By November 1, the time set for Mr. Goode's return, all was in readiness for installation of the furniture he was bringing and hopefully classes could begin soon. But Goode and his family were delayed when the steamboat on which they were traveling sank near Little Rock. Goode's complete library was lost and the family wardrobe, as well as furniture and supplies for the mission, were damaged. Leaving the salvage stored with a merchant--luckily, the sinking was in shoal water so that not all the freight was badly damaged--the Goodes arrived at Fort Coffee late in November but without the supplies and furniture needed for the school. Because of low water on the Arkansas, it was not until January 7, 1844, that the needed freight arrived.

At this time the chiefs and trustees of the three Choctaw districts were notified that Fort Coffee Academy would soon be ready to receive students and begin classes; and on February 9, 1844, the first group of six boys arrived. From Pushmataha District, they had been selected and their certificates signed, according to Benson, by "J. Folsom, chief, and S. Jones, Trustee." The initials used by Benson for Folsom and Jones are in error, since the chief was Isaac Folsom and Robert M. Jones the trustee. On February 10 "a number of pupils" arrived from "Puchsenubbee" District, these being chosen and certified by "James Fletcher, chief, and P. P. Pitchlynn, trustee." Other students soon appeared, selected and certified by "Nat Folsom, chief, and Thomson M'Kenney, Trustee," of the Mushulatubbee District, so that before the first of March, the Academy had received thirty pupils "to be clothed, fed, and taught." In addition, a few day scholars from the immediate neighborhood enrolled, so that the official report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1844 listed a total of thirty-six boys as compared with 110 for Spencer on the same date.

The term "boys" is not entirely accurate since their ages, as listed in Benson's memoirs, ranged from ten to twenty. Chiefly full bloods, on arrival most were barefoot, hatless, and wearing shirts, pants, and "calico hunting shirts." A few wore shoes or moccasins, two or three had hats, some heads were covered with cotton handkerchiefs twisted to make the appearance of turbans, the rest were bareheaded, and all had long hair. A bath and hair cut became the first order of business for a new arrival. After ablution each was greeted by Rev. John Page who, "armed with stout shears, soon reduced their hair to our notions of taste and comfort." Page was a native minister who spoke Choctaw fluently, served as interpreter when needed, and had been assigned to Fort Coffee by the Arkansas Conference for that specific purpose. Issue of clothing was the next step after the barbering. Winter apparel for a young pupil consisted of gray Kentucky jeans, a short close-fitting jacket called a "roundabout," a seal-skin cap, brogan shoes, a white shirt, socks, and handkerchiefs. In summer each boy was issued a "blue calico hunting-shirt" and a "palm-leaf hat." All clothing was numbered. Worn for a week at a time, fresh clothing, "clean and in good repair," was distributed to the boys each Saturday evening.

Along with new clothing, some of the boys received new names. Goode remarked concerning the re-naming of Indian students that:

> Some of our boys had already received English names, while others had only their heathen or Indian names. To such we gave names generally after those of persons known as active and benevolent friends of the cause of missions in the States.

Perhaps Benson gave the basic reason for assigning English names to the Choctaw boys when he wrote that:

> . . . a number . . . had none but Indian names, many of which were lengthy and difficult to remember. To such English names were given [but] whenever it could be done, the Indian name was . . . used as a surname.

This change of names for missionary convenience was common practice at all Indian mission schools, not just those operated by the Methodists among the Choctaws.

On school days the periods of the daily schedule, which was similar to that followed at Spencer and the other schools, were announced by the ringing of a large bell mounted in the center of the grounds. The first clang, for the boys surely its most unwelcome of the day, announced reveille at 5 a.m. during the winter months or at sunrise in the summer. The morning activities included "family worship," breakfast, an hour or two of work and recreation, and three hours in the school room. A noon hour for dinner and recreation was followed by three more hours of "Books." The day was concluded with another period for work and recreation, "prayers at sunset," supper, and a time for recreation and study. At 9 p.m. the bell signaled bedtime, followed by "lights out" at 9:30 and a bed check at 10:00 to determine whether or not all the boys were safely in place and, in season, the "fires all secure."

No school or farm duties were scheduled for Saturdays, but the mornings were employed to clean rubbish and litter from the grounds. Saturday afternoons, as Benson put it, were devoted to "amusement under healthful restrictions." After the first few Saturdays it became necessary to apply some "healthful restrictions" which forbade promiscuous throwing of sticks, pebbles, and stones and restricted the "use of the bow and arrow." Marble-playing was interdicted altogether because the smaller boys playing "on the ground, in a single day . . . would soil their clothes to such an extent as to render themselves unfit to come to the table or to sleep in their beds." Benson noted, "We found it necessary to take the supervision of their sports . . . ." Ball-playing was engaged in by all, though the particular game was not identified; perhaps it was Indian stick-ball. No students were permitted to go far from the grounds without special permission, but in season fishing and bathing in the river and gathering berries and nuts in the woods were allowed. On the Sabbath, both 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. found the boys in Sunday School where they studied the New Testament and spent much time in singing hymns. Worship services were held on Sunday evenings and attendance was required of all.

The missionaries at Fort Coffee found their Choctaw students to be mostly full bloods. Benson reported his proteges as "generally apt and quick in elementary studies" and noted that they learned to spell and read "with amazing facility." Further, they advanced speedily in both penmanship and music, and arithmetic was easy for most of them. Upon first arrival at Fort Coffee, Mr. Benson found that "only six or eight of his pupils knew the English alphabet and only two or three could spell in one and two syllables." The objective of the first classes necessarily became mastery of the English alphabet by all the students. To achieve this goal, Benson reported that:

> The school-room was furnished with blackboards, upon which we taught the alphabet in classes. Our method was to form two or three letters upon the board, and then pronounce them, having the school so arranged that all could see; then we would have the school to pronounce the letters. We would then have a portion of the class to go and take the chalk and write the letters, and then another portion of the class, and thus continue till all had learned both to speak and write the entire alphabet.

Formation of syllables and spelling of words were taught in much the same manner. As Benson put it:

> In teaching the elementary studies we found the board and a piece of chalk to be much more useful than the old-fashioned cards and primers; that method was of special service in teaching them to pronounce the words correctly . . . . Of course we did not wholly dispense with the elementary spelling-books and readers.

In a letter to Agent William Armstrong, on September 12, 1844, Superintendent Goode gave a report full of generalities and lacking in specifics. He referred to a letter of March 1, which evidently gave more detailed information on the organization and plans for Fort Coffee Academy, and mentioned the public examination of July 24, last event before the summer vacation. The usual term for a Choctaw school ran from early October to July, followed by a vacation period when the dry heat of summer reached its peak. Goode's account of the examination was perfunctory, since Agent Armstrong and "other competent gentlemen" had been present and could draw their own conclusions as to the progress made by the pupils during the term. Therefore, he remarked that it did not "become" him to speak of it. He did complain, however, that many important officials of Mushulatubbee District had failed to attend and expressed the hope that officials who lacked interest in education would be replaced by leaders who would actively support the schools.

Goode noted that the "moral conduct and general deportment of all" had been "unexpectedly good." But he also mentioned that it was much more difficult to induce the older boys to learn to speak English, by contrast with the younger ones, and that unless English was learned "their acquirements in other respects will be of little value." Not only did the younger boys learn the "language with surprising facility," but their superiority, Goode commented, was not "confined to this particular." Since the Nation had "infinitely more to expect" from students who entered school "between the ages of 10 and 16," the limits set by the General Council, Goode regretted that some deviations allowing enrollment of older or younger students had been made by the trustees. The missionaries generally believed that youngsters under ten would be better served by neighborhood schools and that their efforts to educate those past sixteen were wasted.

Benson furnished slightly more detail than Goode in his account of the July 24 examination. In addition to Major Armstrong, Benson stated that "Wm. Riddle, the United States Interpreter," two of the Trustees, probably Peter P. Pitchlynn of the Apukshunnubbee District and "Colonel Thomson M'Kenney" of Mushulatubbee District, attended the event along with a number of parents. One of Pitchlynn's nephews, "an active sprightly boy," according to Goode, was among the scholars at Fort Coffee and later attended Asbury University, Greencastle, Indiana. All in attendance were "gratified," as Benson put it, to find that "Nearly all the lads had learned to read," that more than half were "beginning to write," and that "all had made considerable proficiency." As a result, he continued, Agent Armstrong and the Trustees "gave an unqualified approbation of what had been accomplished." The first term thus ended on a happy note. Further, it had been a period when sickness and discipline problems had been minimal. No student had run away except "an elderly [sic] boy, improperly selected," who decided to go home to his wife. Goode had to report, however, that nothing had been done "in reference to the female department," apparently not yet designated as "New Hope." It was the fall of 1845 before girls were enrolled in that institution. Before that time, both Goode and Benson had left the Choctaw Nation and New Hope Seminary was opened by their successors.

Since it was not until the spring that Goode and Benson departed, most of the 1844-1845 school term at Fort Coffee was completed and the construction of New Hope was well begun before they left. The cause of their early departure was a rift in the Methodist church. In October, 1844, Goode and Benson attended the organizational meeting of the Indian Mission Conference, at Riley's Chapel near Tahlequah in the Cherokee Nation, where they served as secretaries. But the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States was about to split apart over the sectional question of slavery and when it became clear that the new conference, because of its location, would be assigned to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the two leaders at Fort Coffee decided to stay with the northern Methodists. Goode left the Choctaw Nation on March 3, 1845, never to return, and was followed by Benson on May 12. Rev. L. B. Stateler, presiding elder of the Choctaw District of the Indian Mission Conference, acted as Fort Coffee superintendent for a short while; but when the 1845-1846 term began in October, a new superintendent, W. L. McAlister, was in charge.

In his report of October 20, 1845, to the Commissioner, Major Armstrong noted the departure of Goode and Benson with regret, since those gentlemen had "discharged . . . their duties with more than ordinary ability and fidelity." Armstrong had received no official report from Fort Coffee for the 1844-1845 term because of the early departure of both Goode and Benson. Presiding Elder Stateler failed to report during the short period he was in charge. Since the "new superintendent, Mr. McAlister, and the gentlemen who assist him" all suffered from "protracted illness" after their arrival, none of them reported. Armstrong hastened to add that they had not neglected the institution, however, and had "already shown themselves likely to make good the loss of their predecessors." In addition to McAlister, new staff members included "Rev. Mr. Graham" as principal teacher, "Mr. McAlister, Jr.," assistant teacher, and Dr. and Mrs. E. G. Meek at the "female branch." McAlister wrote concerning Meek that he was "an intelligent and successful physician."

Just when and by whom the "female branch" was named "New Hope" was not determined from available sources, but apparently it was about the time classes began in October, 1845. Contracts for construction of the necessary buildings at New Hope had been made by Mr. Goode before his departure in March and construction was well advanced before Mr. Benson went north in May. The site was five miles from Fort Coffee and a mile east of the Choctaw Agency. Since it was the location used by William Wilson for his government school before he moved to Spencer Academy, it is possible that Wilson's old school building was used as a classroom for New Hope, at least for a while. Although the missionaries probably would have preferred that New Hope be located closer to Fort Coffee, one observer explained that the decision to place the girls at some distance from the boys was prompted by the fact that:

> The old sachems of the tribe . . . when met in council to determine . . . the location /̄of New Hope_7 were possessed of a terrible dread of the dangers attending a male and female school in near proximity with each other . . . .

Before Benson's departure, construction at New Hope had progressed to the point that he was able to describe the appearance of the original campus. The two identical buildings, he recalled, were "substantial frames, one story high, with porches in front and rear"; each was one hundred feet long and faced each other about one hundred feet apart. Modeled on the barracks at Fort Coffee, the plan was supposed to be especially fitted for the "manual-labor system." Mr. Benson stated that "it was intended that the girls should be instructed in plain and fancy sewing, the duties of the kitchen, the dairy, the laundry, and the mysteries of housekeeping in general."

Later, a two-story stone structure, fifty by thirty feet, filled one end of the square, while the other end was closed off by a high picket fence built around the two acres on which the buildings stood. Although he never returned to the Choctaw Nation, Mr. Goode, performing his last duty as Superintendent, purchased the "articles for furnishing" New Hope at Cincinnati and shipped them west in time for installation and arrangement before classes began in October, 1845. These furnishings were immediately placed in the new structures which, for a time at least, remained unpainted "inside and on the outer surface." But the total prospect must not have been displeasing to a visitor as he approached the grounds. According to the Reverend William Graham, who replaced Benson as principal at Fort Coffee in 1845:

> The forest trees remained in the inclosure as nature had arranged them, not a foot of ground

> being cleared away for the cultivation of fruit or flowers. The whole aspect was wild and romantic, and the singing birds built their nests and warbled forth their sweet and cheerful songs at our doors . . . .

Six or seven acres were cultivated at New Hope to supply food, but most of the provender, especially corn, vegetables, meat, and dairy products, was provided to the Seminary from the farm worked by the boys at Fort Coffee. Fort Coffee also furnished a large part of the fire wood used at New Hope. In return, the girls assisted Fort Coffee by making clothes, and other items such as quilts, sheets, towels, and other needed articles. At least once a week a wagon powered by oxen made the trip from Fort Coffee to New Hope and return. The boys competed for assignment to a trip to New Hope, not only to visit with the young ladies but also because they were sure to be served a fine meal, a welcome change from the daily fare at Fort Coffee. A regular opportunity for visits between the schools was afforded by quarterly meetings, held on designated Sundays alternately at Fort Coffee and New Hope, when an especially fine dinner was always served. Since neither dining hall was large enough to accommodate students from both schools at once, the visitors always ate first.

In a long and detailed report of August 1, 1846, Superintendent McAlister provided Agent Armstrong with a summary of events and accomplishments during his first year as supervisor of the two schools. The number of boys in attendance was fifty-four, the number of girls thirty-seven, for a total enrollment of ninety-one. Ten or twelve of the girls, however, were day scholars who were furnished only books, paper, and ink. The public examination for Fort Coffee was held on July 24 and for New Hope on the day following. McAlister regretted that only Thompson McKinney of the Trustees had attended, adding for Armstrong's benefit that "Mr. Luce, your clerk, was present, and was solicited to take your place, which he did cheerfully." Among other observers was William Wilson, former Mushulatubbee District teacher who had just resigned as principal teacher at Spencer Academy. McAlister, fearing that his report might be considered immodest when he evaluated progress made during the year as "very satisfactory," referred Armstrong to Mr. Wilson "for further information." The "very satisfactory," however, was used by McAlister only for Fort Coffee, not for New Hope. He reminded Armstrong that "our female department" was in its first year and therefore could not "compare in examination" with the boys.

Among the young men, twenty-three "read fluently in the fourth book of Goodrich's series," while others read in the third, second, or first series. Twenty-nine had studied Ray's Arithmetic with varying degrees of success; nineteen had struggled with English grammar, using "Kirkham's prose or poetry lessons"; geography had been introduced and ten of the young men had completed study of half of Mitchell's geography; and correct spelling had been promoted by the use of "N. Webster's Dictionary." The girls at New Hope pursued the same studies, but the Superintendent made no boasts concerning their advancement in learning. As a postscript, he did note the "service of the female school" for Fort Coffee Academy. The girls, McAlister stated, had made "about 100 pairs of pants, /̅ and _7 shirts," had done a great deal of knitting for the boys, and also had fashioned a great deal of clothing for themselves. He complained about difficulty with older students of both sexes, remarking, "Better a thousand times for the nation that they send us children, by no means over fifteen years."

The superintendent expressed praise for the accomplishments of the male scholars during the daily sessions of two and a half hours when they worked with their hands. Of the manual labor system his judgment was, "With us it works well." During the year all the old fences had been repaired, new fence had been placed around "25 or 30 acres of river bottom," and twenty additional acres had been cleared to increase to sixty acres the total area cultivated at Fort Coffee. From most of this land there was promise of a fine yield. Other work included moving an old building and remodeling it as a barn, and the start of construction of a new two-story dormitory. For this the "young men [had] sunk us quite a cellar" and with the carpenter's help had prepared "nearly all the larger framing timbers." Among other items, the schools were out of debt, the students--but not the teachers--had been "wonderfully blest with health," and sixty-nine of the students had taken the pledge of "tee-totalism." Regular preaching had caused "several accessions to the church," concerning which McAlister cynically remarked that "some appear to be really pious." Almost as an afterthought, his letter is concluded with mention of "Rev. Mr. Graham, our principal teacher," and "his assistant, Mr. Linebargo," as each deserving great praise.

Only a short report from the Choctaw Agency appeared among the 1847 letters to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This resulted, undoubtedly, from the sudden death of Major William Armstrong at Doaksville, near Fort Towson, in June, 1847. His successor, Samuel M. Rutherford did not take over the position of Acting Superintendent of the Western Territory and Agent to the Choctaws in time to collect and send detailed reports to Washington. Agent Rutherford did note for the year 1846-1847 at Fort Coffee and New Hope that "the Rev. W. L. McAlister, the superintendent," reported enrollments of fifty-four and twenty-five scholars, respectively, but no unusual events during the term. The list of appointments for the fall, 1847, meeting of the Indian Mission Conference named "J. S.

McAlester, Superintendent and Pastor" for Fort Coffee and New Hope, with no mention of W. L. McAlister. Yet the latter signed the annual report received by Agent Rutherford the 1847-1848 term. One source lists both "W. L. McAlester" and "Jesse S. McAlester" for the station in 1848; another source clarified their positions by reporting the 1848 appointments thus: "Fort Coffee M. L. Sch. W. L. M'Alister" and "New Hope Fem. Schl. J. S. M'Alister." The 1849 appointments again name only "W. L. McAlester." What the relationship was between the two McAlisters and why "W. L." was not listed in 1847 was not ascertained. The 1849 appointment, by the way, was McAlister's last, except for a one-year stint in 1854; the superintendent named for 1850 was John Harrell, who remained in charge until 1854.

Superintendent McAlister's 1848 report was dated July 20, a few days after completion of the annual examinations, and was much shorter than his 1846 statement. He defended its brevity on the ground that since Fort Coffee and New Hope were located so close to the Choctaw Agency, within five miles and one mile respectively, Agent Rutherford had constant knowledge of "the condition and prosperity of our schools." The 1848 examination at Fort Coffee Academy covered four advanced subjects which had been added to the curriculum since 1846, namely, chemistry, algebra, geometry, and Latin grammar. Superintendent McAlister was pleased with the showing of the boys, writing that the "students far surpassed . . . the most sanguine expectations . . . ." Among those attending examination of the girls at New Hope were "Colonel R., and Mrs. Rutherford," the former being the brother of Agent Samuel Rutherford, to whom Superintendent McAlister referred the Agent for an account of the examination. The curriculum at New Hope had not been enriched by the addition of chemistry, algebra, geometry, and Latin, an omission for which undoubtedly the young ladies were truly thankful.

During the 1847-1848 term ninety-five boys and girls had been enrolled, eighty-five of whom were boarding students receiving all the necessities. The superintendent remarked that the farm on which boys labored was "in respectable condition" and that the girls had exhibited "some fine specimens of sewing" on examination day. He was also happy to report that the Methodist Missionary Society was "near one thousand dollars in advance of her obligations." In an October 11 letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Agent Rutherford agreed with McAlister that Fort Coffee and New Hope were "well managed" and acquiring "an increased reputation." Rutherford must have received confirmation of the good work done at New Hope from his brother, because he singled out the teachers by name and remarked that they were:

> . . . universally popular with all, and especially so with [parents] having children at [New Hope]. Mr. and Mrs. Maris are the teachers in the seminary. Much credit is due Miss Carter for the general good deportment of the girls out of school. They were under her charge, and were instructed in sewing, knitting, &c., and in the general labors of domestic industry. It is not too much praise to say that the care and responsibility with which she has been charged was efficiently and well performed, and that the garments exhibited at the examination were well and skilfully [*sic*] made.

Mrs. Elizabeth Jacobs Quinton, a one-eighth Choctaw graduate grandame interviewed at the age of 112, was a student at New Hope when "Old Man McAlister," as she called him, was in charge. Her memory is questionable on some counts, such as the number of girls enrolled, which she placed at one hundred ninety-eight. But she probably explained the beautiful handiwork accomplished by the girls when she recalled that:

> They made us do it right. If it wasn't right they made us rip it out. I've seen the girls have a

> sock almost done and the teacher would make her ravel it all out. Same way with sewing . . . . We made bed clothes, sheets and pillow cases. The girls all quilted after the seamstress would mark out the patterns with a saucer. Each girl would do her best and the best one got a premium.

Mrs. Quinton stated that the "big girls" were assigned every Friday in teams of four to cook or wash or "for this" or "for something else." The assignments lasted a week and were varied for each girl throughout the term. The "little girls" performed such chores as carrying "water to the rooms from the well or fine spring." One of her memories concerned the effort to prevent the pupils from speaking Choctaw. This posed difficulties for many, at least on first arrival, when they knew no English whatever. The assumption was that by prohibiting use of the native tongue, their mastery of English would be accelerated. Mrs. Quinton's recollection was: "If they talked Choctaw they gave them a teaspoonful of red pepper . . . ."

McAlister's last published report to the Agent, "Col. John Drennen" who had just replaced Samuel M. Rutherford, was made on August 30, 1849, and noted that the 1848-1849 term had been shortened by order of the District Trustee "out of a dread of cholera, which was in the neighborhood." The early dismissal of "Fort Coffee and New Hope seminaries" had previously been announced to the Nation by a letter which appeared in the Choctaw Telegraph on April 24, 1849, over the signature of "Thos. McKenny," trustee for Mushulatubbee District. He reported that the boarding students had been sent home:

> . . . in consequence of the approaching fatal disease. One of the scholars died very suddenly, at Fort Coffee, but not however with the cholera. I do not think that any of the citizens have been attacked with it, although there has been a few

> cases among the California emigrants /‾headed west from Fort Smith for the gold fields_7. The smallpox is also said to be among the emigrants, and passing through, as they do, of this part of the Nation, naturally causes some alarm. The schools will commence again on the first Wednesday in October.

In spite of the early closing on April 19, which eliminated nearly three months of schooling and the final public examinations, the Superintendent believed that the students would have shown improvement over previous years had the full time been available. A new subject, Greek, was mentioned, although McAlister did not boast of any progress even by advanced students in either Latin or Greek. His words were that some were "reading clumsily in the Latin and Greek languages." Evidently there had been some grumbling that the curriculums of the two institutions were not enough on the practical side, because McAlister suggested to the Choctaws that, "Whether it is the better policy, to give the children more than a good business education; I leave you and your authorized functionaries to determine."

The above is quoted from a letter addressed to the "Chiefs and Members of the General Council, Choctaw Nation," dated August 30, 1849, very similar to the letter of the same date addressed to "Col. John Drennen." Published in the Choctaw Telegraph on November 1, 1849, McAlister gave his ideas nationwide coverage and went further in his remarks about business education than he had done in his report to the Agent. He promised the Council:

> In the event your Trustees should determine on a simple qualification for business, we shall have several prepared for ordinary business by the close of next session, who may give place to others.

His words to the Agent on this topic hint at criticism that a classical course of study helped only a few. Note the added clause, not included in the letter to the Council:

> Whether it is the better policy to give the children more than a good business education, *and thereby afford a like favor to a greater number of children* / emphasis added /, I leave others to judge.

McAlister then made a somewhat halfhearted defense of the curriculum being taught when he wrote:

> What has been, or may be done in advancing the people in civilization and religion, I am too great a novice to venture an opinion, though there appears to me, to be evident remarks of improvement in our district, so far as I am acquainted.

But since he was soon to leave the superintendency at Fort Coffee, it was not possible for him to institute a short business course of study, an addition to the curriculum which he could only recommend to his successor.

Among other matters McAlister reported more sickness during the 1848-1849 term than in any former session. The situation was alleviated, however, by the efforts of Dr. R. S. Williams, one of the teachers, to whose dedication and that of the other teachers the superintendent acknowledged indebtedness "for the prosperity of our school." Williams was leaving, but McAlister informed the Trustees that the vacancy was to be filled by "Rev. A. Biggs, M. D.," a physician of "long practice" who was backed by the highest recommendations as a Christian gentleman. The last item in the 1849 report read: "We shall have a comfortable frame building ready for the boys soon after the opening of the next session. This was greatly needed here."

No report for the 1849-1850 term was discovered. A note from "Mr. T. McKenney," Trustee, appeared in The Choctaw Intelligencer, successor to the Telegraph, on August 14, 1850, which reported on schools in the "Arkansa or Mosholatubby District." This item was chiefly concerned with "4 week day schools taught by citizens of that District," giving the names of the teacher and enrollment for each school. Almost as an afterthought McKinney reported that Fort Coffee Academy had an enrollment of fifty, New Hope Seminary an enrollment of thirty-five, but gave no other information concerning them. A letter from McAlister, published in the 1850 report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, summarized his thoughts after five years at Fort Coffee:

> There have been many changes in teachers and students since my arrival. No teacher--no student here now who was here then. We have the consolation, however, that we have not labored altogether in vain. Some who have returned home are doing well, and a few very well. Some clerking in stores, some farming, some teaching, one an interpreter for a missionary; some licensed to preach--and do not be surprised when I tell you one is a preacher and a Choctaw lawyer too . . . . It will . . . take patience, skill, years, and much labor, to make any great show in the arts, sciences, religion, and civilization.

Surely, it is true, concerning the efforts of Goode, Benson, and McAlister, that by 1850 the Fort Coffee and New Hope institutions had been firmly established and were performing a unique and effective service to the Choctaw people.

On August 12, 1850, Reverend John Harrell was appointed to succeed McAlister as superintendent of Fort Coffee and New Hope. A North Carolinian by birth, he had been a member of the Arkansas Conference before assuming the duties at Fort Coffee in the Indian Mission Conference.

The chief problem during Harrell's first year arose during the winter when nearly every student at both Fort Coffee and New Hope succumbed to "pneumonia." Harrell credited the care of an "excellent physician," Dr. C. W. Brenton, for the fact that not a patient was lost. Another problem faced by Harrell derived from a request by the Choctaw Council that the opening of New Hope Seminary in the fall of 1850 be delayed until a committee from the Council could confer with the bishop at Conference about appointing a separate superintendent for Hew Hope Seminary. But the bishop died before reaching the Conference, which body then told the Council that its wish would be granted "in due time." As a result, management of the two schools was separated for a year or so, but then was reunited. In 1852 and 1853 Harrell was named as superintendent of Fort Coffee Academy and Nathaniel M. Talbott as superintendent of "New Hope Female Seminary." But the appointment lists for 1854 and thereafter, until both schools were closed in 1861, again showed one superintendent for "Fort Coffee and New Hope Academies," evidence that the policy of separation of the schools had been abandoned.

One reason for the Council's desire to separate the management of New Hope Seminary from that of Fort Coffee Academy was the desire of the Council to increase the number of girls educated at the Seminary and the belief that such an increase would make efficient administration impossible under one superintendent for the two schools. New Hope, as a result of the delay, did not begin classes until November, 1850. The number of girls was increased from thirty-five to fifty, equal to the number of boys at Fort Coffee, and remained at that level during the 1850s. Harrell did not believe that the delay in starting the term at New Hope was harmful to the program. He remarked that the staff at New Hope during the

1850-1851 school year—Mr. Talbott had not yet arrived—gave "entire and universal satisfaction" and that the recitations made by the girls at the annual examination on July 4, 1851, were not just good, but "very good."

An unusual event marked the spring of 1852 at Fort Coffee. Harrell reported that in March it became known that:

> . . . some twelve of the large boys had been guilty of a high grade of improper conduct; that the honor of the academy required that they should be dismissed, which was done promptly, but with kindness.

No hint was given as to the nature of their misconduct, but the superintendent stated that most of the twelve could read and write and possessed a fair knowledge of geography, arithmetic, and English grammar when they were dismissed. Although there were "some unpleasant feelings for a short time," the chief, "Col. McCurten"--this was Cornelius McCurtain, chief of Mushulatubbee District--filled the twelve vacancies at Fort Coffee with younger boys, so that forty-seven students were present at the final examination on July 8. Superintendent N. M. Talbott, previously presiding elder of the Choctaw District of the Indian Mission Conference, made his first report for New Hope in the summer of 1852. He stated that Miss Mary Talbott and Miss Elizabeth Tramel had "charge of the Academy," referring to New Hope, and that Miss Frances Sawyers had instructed in "sewing, &c."

An even worse calamity than the need to expel twelve students struck Fort Coffee in the fall of 1852. A paragraph from Harrell's letter of August 25, 1853, as reproduced in the Ninth Annual Missionary Report of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, ran:

> The school commenced, as usual, the first of October last; the boys were in early in the session, and the teachers entered upon their work in good spirits and with fair prospects; but, alas! our prosperity lasted but a short season, for in four weeks some thirty-two of the boys were prostrated with the measles, in their worst form. They all, however, partially recovered, when whooping-cough, pneumonia, and the flux followed. The scene was truly appalling. Every room was a hospital and the groans of the sick and dying were heard in every direction. In vain did we resort to physicians and medical aid, all was unavailing; and for four long weeks the angel of death, with his raven wings, hovered over us. The result is, that twelve of our beloved students were buried at this place, and I have been informed that three others, that were taken away, have died; making fifteen in all.

At the request of "Mr. McKenney, the trustee," the Academy was closed, with the hope that it could be re-opened on January 1, 1853. But when that date arrived, so many boys were still in bad health and their parents so opposed to their return that the decision was made not to resume classes until the first Wednesday in October. The intervening months were occupied with building alterations and improvements, some of the latter designed to increase farm and livestock production.

The experience at New Hope during the same year was bad, but it was not necessary to close the Seminary. Reporting to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on August 20, 1853, in "the absence of the Rev. N. M. Talbott, superintendent," W. L. McAlister, presiding elder of the Choctaw District, and Thomson McKenney, trustee, had this to say concerning the previous year at New Hope:

> The school suffered more last year than at any other time since it commenced operations. In the early part of the session one of their beloved teachers, Miss Mary Talbott, was cut down

> by death, and out of fifty scholars, nearly one-half of them were taken down with whooping-cough and pneumonia, four of which died, and some of them were brought near the brink of the grave, but with the untiring care of the superintendent and teacher they were recovered.

In spite of the "deep suffering and affliction," they continued, "the school was not neglected" and the girls "acquitted themselves remarkably well" at the examination on July 7. Actually more deaths occurred at New Hope the following year than were reported for 1852-1853. Superintendent Talbott reported seven deaths for the 1853-1854 term, his last at New Hope, as: three from consumption, "having been in very delicate health when they entered our school"; one of dropsy; two of typhoid fever; and one of "congestion of the brain." Several others "were taken home on account of feeble health" so that out of a total enrollment of fifty-four for the year only forty-two were present at the final examination on July 6, 1854.

Reports from Fort Coffee for 1854 and 1855 were made by W. L. McAlister, although he probably served as superintendent in name more than in fact. McAlister was actually listed in 1854 to be in charge of "Fort Coffee and New Hope Academies," with John Harrell as presiding elder of the Choctaw District. But although the 1855 list showed McAlister as presiding elder, it was he who made the annual report for both schools. In the 1855 report McAlister praised Rev. F. M. Paine, to be appointed superintendent at Fort Coffee in 1858, as an "industrious and faithful teacher."

Rev. Thomas W. Mitchell was superintendent of both schools from 1856 to 1858, and Paine from 1858 until the summer of 1861. In 1857 Mitchell gave the enrollment of fifty for each institution, with an overall average attendance of ninety-six. An unusual feature of this report

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was a list of the staff, which gave previously unreported information for each one, as follows:

Fort Coffee	Age	Birth	Salary
Rev. T. W. Mitchell, Superintendent	41	Tennessee	$600
Rev. John Newell, Principal Teacher	45	Vermont	500
Mrs. Newell, Matron	46	Ohio	100
A. T. Robertson, Ass't Teacher	24	Tennessee	250
Miss Agnes Newell, Seamstress	18	Missouri	100
Mr. Nichols, Farmer	30	Georgia	240
New Hope			
Rev. T. W. Mitchell, Superintendent	[see above]		
Miss M. A. Mather, Principal Teacher	25	Tennessee	300
Mrs. Mitchell, Seamstress	35	Tennessee	100
Miss Matilda Robertson, Matron	18	Tennessee	100

Mitchell reported the income for the combined institutions as $7,000, of which $6,000 was appropriated by the Choctaw Council and $1,000 was contributed by the Methodist mission board; thus the funding provided by the original contract had remained unchanged. This type of report, listing age and place of birth for each employee of a Choctaw mission school, was initiated at this time by Douglas H. Cooper, Choctaw Agent. Cooper, a Mississippian and friend of Jefferson Davis, possibly was attempting to locate abolitionists among the missionaries, who, as we shall see later, were a cause of concern to the Choctaws during the 1850s.

The tenure of Rev. F. M. Paine as superintendent, 1858-1861, ended with the closing of Fort Coffee and New Hope at the outbreak of the Civil War. The only report discovered for Mr. Paine's superintendency covered the 1859-1860 term; no enrollment was given, Paine remarking only that fifty was the maximum number for each school. Both schools were plagued by sickness; whooping cough prevailed early in the year and measles during the spring. In late March, after one girl died at New Hope of "some other sickness" and measles broke out in the neighborhood, the district trustee suspended New Hope until the first week in May. In spite of the unscheduled recess, Paine believed that the girls did well at the final examination on July 5, 1860. No final examination was held at Fort Coffee, because in late May the measles "prevailed so extensively" that the boys were all sent home in early June "by direction of the trustee."

Superintendent Paine complained that the 1859-1860 term had been a hard year because of unusually heavy expenses. These arose, he wrote, because the "dilapidated state of the buildings, the farm, /‾and_7 the apparatus generally of both schools" led to an unusual drain on available funds to repair the old when possible and to purchase the new when repair was impossible. Paine's worries were soon to be ended. Choctaw funds, the chief support for his boarding schools, ceased after the 1860-1861 term when the Choctaw Nation allied itself with the Confederacy. Babcock and Bryce, in their History of Methodism in Oklahoma, state that Paine "kept them running until the spring of 1863," referring to Fort Coffee and New Hope. If so, it must have been on a limited basis as local schools after the summer of 1861. During the latter years of the Civil War, a raid by Union Indians from across the Arkansas River resulted in the burning of Fort Coffee and the departure of Paine and other missionaries still in the vicinity for sanctuary in Texas. Fort Coffee Academy thus ended its service to the Choctaw people, a victim of the white man's war. New Hope Seminary, however, was re-opened in April, 1871, to continue the education of Choctaw girls for another twenty-five years.

VIII

WHEELOCK SEMINARY AND NORWALK ACADEMY

It will be recalled that the Public School Act of 1842 provided funds for four female seminaries to be managed by missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Mission schools, or government schools employing missionary teachers, already existed at each site so that it was possible to establish the Choctaw-supported boarding schools with a minimum of difficulty. Wheelock Mission, founded by Alfred Wright, had been operating a coeducational day school since 1833; occasionally a pupil who lived at some distance would reside in the missionary home. It was the first of the four American Board seminaries to function under the appropriation of the Choctaw General Council as a boarding school for girls only; for girls only, that is, except for an occasional boy from the neighborhood who attended as a day scholar.

The coeducational enrollment of the Wheelock day school reported in 1841, mostly boys, was forty-eight during a term that ran for a little more than nine months. As an institution supported by Choctaw funds, the enrollment reported by Superintendent Wright on September 23, 1844, was:

Boarded at Wheelock on the appropriation	24
Boarded by parents and friends	13
Boarded by the mission	3
Day scholars from the neighborhood	13
Total	53

Wright added a sad note to his statement concerning enrollment: "Died during the year, 2--one of them on the appropriation; both sickly children, and both died at home." In 1845, Wheelock Seminary was the largest of the four "female schools" under the American Board. In his annual report for 1845 Agent Armstrong stated that:

> . . . 102 girls are instructed and maintained at the joint expense of the Choctaws and the American Board . . . . For this purpose the Indians contribute $7,800 per annum and the missionary society $6,000.

By May 1, 1843, according to Wright, twenty-four girls had been "placed on the appropriation." Selection of the students, "to avoid the appearance of partiality," had been made from four Choctaw clans, seven each from the "Ahepotukla," the "Oli-lefe-leia," and "Ok-la-ha-nali," and three from the "Urihe-sahe." Approximately fifty applications had been considered, only seven "who had previously belonged to the school" were among the twenty-four, and only one was selected from any one family. The opening of Wheelock in advance of the other three seminaries was explained to Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford as "owing to the fact of suitable buildings, teachers, &c., being ready prepared there."

Wright reported to Armstrong in July, 1843, concerning buildings at Wheelock that:

> As a part of the buildings necessary for the school were already erected with funds of the American board . . . and as a part of the necessary stock was on hand, belonging also to the American board, I have engaged to put up the remaining buildings, and furnish what more stock may be needed, with funds of the same society, without encroaching upon the appropriation made by the nation.

By this arrangement the "buildings and stock" remained the property of the American Board, and from the beginning all of the Choctaw appropriation was expended on operation of the school. In addition to providing buildings and equipment, the American Board contributed annually "in the proportion the Methodist Episcopal missionary society [was] required to aid" in support of Fort Coffee and New Hope.

Principal teacher at Wheelock was Harriet Bunce Wright, wife of the superintendent, concerning whom Agent Armstrong wrote Commissioner Crawford in 1843 that not only was she a "competent teacher" but also a "lady eminently suited to improve the female pupils" under her care. Each day was a busy one for her, since she served not only as principal teacher and was in charge of all phases of the daily routine at the boarding school, but was also a homemaker for her husband and children. In addition Harriet somehow found time to assist Alfred in his work as author, translator, and collaborator in the publication of forty-one volumes in the Choctaw language. In preparation for the press she copied in longhand her husband's manuscript translation of Joshua, Judges and Ruth. She wrote his manuscript of the New Testament, published by the American Bible Society, three times before its publication. Some idea of the extent of the effort put forth by the Wrights as translators is evident in the following excerpt from a letter, Alfred Wright to Major William Armstrong, of September 23, 1844:

> The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, several of the minor Epistles, and book of Revelation, have been translated. The Gospel of St. Matthew, Acts of the Apostles, and several of the Epistles have been printed, but are now, with most of the Choctaw books, out of print. It is desirable to have all the portions of the Bible translated and printed as soon as practicable. The American Bible Society have generously offered to defray the expense of printing the portions of the Scripture which have been translated.

Harriet must have thrived on responsibility and hard work, since she lived to be sixty-six, surviving by ten years her husband's death in 1853.

A typical school day at Wheelock began with the singing of a hymn and a prayer offered by the teacher; Wright once remarked that generally, "As much attention as practicable is given to singing." A short morning devotional was concluded with the recitation of a verse of Scripture by all those "able to do it." Five hours each winter morning, lengthened to five and a half during the summer months, were spent by the girls at "books"; during each afternoon four hours were devoted to "needle-work and other manual exercises." The needle-work taught was both "plain and ornamental." The "other manual exercises" included carding and spinning, as well as "knitting, netting, marking, &c," plain and fancy sewing, and the cutting and making of clothing. To round out their waking hours the girls were required to help with the general housekeeping at the Seminary and the cooking and serving of meals. For the performance of these domestic duties the girls were divided into "several companies, each division taking its turn in rotation." No mention is made in Wright's first report that any daily period was set aside for recreation. If there was none, the girls undoubtedly made their own arrangements for fun and frolic when the opportunity offered.

In September, 1844, Wright reported concerning the academic work for the preceding school term that the number of pupils studying English grammar was five, geography seventeen, and arithmetic also seventeen. Thirty-four were listed as "writers," the same number as those who could "read and spell well." Nineteen others were studying "easy lessons in reading and spelling." The Bible was "daily and carefully studied," by all who could read; other reading books used were "Child's Guide, Intelligent Reader, Todd's Truth Made Simple, and Gallaudet's Natural Theology." Books used for instruction in spelling included "Town's, Webster's, New York, and New York Primer."

The next two annual reports, for 1845 and 1846 give about the same total enrollment, fifty-two and fifty. The number of boarding students "on the appropriation" remained at twenty-four, but in addition several other girls were boarded each year. The girls not supported by the appropriation received help from various sources. Of thirteen such boarders in 1845-1846 Mr. Wright noted that, ". . . 8 have paid board, 2 have had board for assistance rendered in the family, 2 have been supported by the mission, and 1 by benevolent friends in the state of Mississippi." There were fourteen non-appropriation scholars living at the school in 1844-1845, to make a total of thirty-eight boarders. Of these, Mr. Wright wrote that:

> . . . 22 were in the family of the superintendent, and 16 in the family of Mr. Copeland. In this way the family character of the boarding-school is better preserved than it could be if all boarded at one place. And we deem it important that our boarding pupils be instructed, as far as possible, as they would be in a well regulated family, so that when out of school our boarders constitute two separate families.

"Mr. Copeland" was H. K. Copeland, who had joined the Choctaw mission as early as 1837. He and his wife assisted in boarding and taking care of the children, as Mr. Wright reported, in a house about "forty rods" from the Wrights. According to Wright, the children of the "respective families" were "kept separate when out of school," although just how this was accomplished is not clear from available records.

It may have been that the two groups were selected according to age and their progress in school work. As early as the 1845-1846 term, for academic purposes the institution was divided into two departments, a "Primary" and a "Higher." Until March of that school year eleven beginners and seventeen others were grouped together in the Primary group under the tutelage of "Miss Tracy." Wright characterized her as "diligent, efficient, and successful as a teacher," one who was "much beloved by her pupils . . . ." However, in March, 1845, declining health forced her to return to her home in Connecticut, her place being filled for the remainder of the term by "Miss M. Cotton, from Massachusetts." Educational progress in this department was stressed in five subjects, spelling, arithmetic, geography, "Natural Philosophy," and the Bible. For spelling it was recorded that "all the more advanced pupils," presumably the seventeen not classified as beginners, had learned the sounds of the letters, the marks used to determine vowel sounds, the "characters used in writing," and commonly used abbreviations. In arithmetic classes, sixteen had memorized the "arithmetical tables of weights, measures, &c.," while twelve had studied Greenleaf's Mental Arithmetic. Sixteen had progressed in Parley's Geography from "12 to the 33d lesson," while four had advanced only to the "21st lesson." Swift's "First Lessons in Natural Philosophy, 1st Part" had been studied by twelve, and twenty had memorized "Emerson's Historical Catechism of the Bible." Also, it was remarked that "12 attend to writing." From this last and other inferences it would appear that some of the girls occupied themselves at various times with English composition, music, and drawing, but that these fields were not taught as regular subjects for study. Among textbooks used but not already listed were: Common School Primer, Gallaudet's Spelling Book, and "Watts's smaller catechism."

Miss Cornelia Dolbeare, at Wheelock from 1845 to 1849, served as the "efficient teacher" of the Higher Department, which included twelve pupils "on the appropriation" in a total enrollment of twenty-two. Progress in the study of arithmetic for the term ending in July, 1846, lacked uniformity, of course, so that while four girls had "studied and reviewed

Greenleaf's Mental Arithmetic," the others had tackled Smith's Arithmetic with varying degrees of success. Five had progressed "through the ground rules," thirteen through "vulgar fractions," and two as far as "interest and equation of payments." In geography four had reviewed Parley's Geography, nine had "studied and reviewed" Smith's Geography, five others had "gone to the 100th page" in Smith's, while the brightest four had advanced all the way to "the 245 page." All twenty-two had "studied and reviewed Swift's First Lessons in Natural Philosophy, 1st Part," while nine had begun study of Part 2 of Swift; four of the nine had read sixty-eight pages of Part 2 and five to page ninety-six. Two new subjects taught were English grammar and astronomy. Only nine had studied astronomy, using "Comstock's Youth's Book on Astronomy" as a text. Thirteen had studied grammar but only five had "gone through with Smith's Grammar"; of the remaining eight, four had reached page twenty-six and four had read to page eighty. Finally, Mr. Wright noted that, "All in this department have learned Emerson's Historical Catechism of the Bible, and all spend a portion of time every day in writing."

During this same school year, 1845-1846, a small boys' school, Norwalk Academy, was added to the educational burden of Alfred Wright and Wheelock. The arrangement was similar to that at Fort Coffee and New Hope, one superintendent over two schools, each headed by a principal teacher. There was this difference, however: unlike the Fort Coffee-New Hope situation, Wheelock, the school for girls, was older, larger, and considered more important than Norwalk, the boys' school. First official mention of Norwalk appeared in the 1843 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as a letter from Jared Olmstead, headed "Norwalk, Fort Towson Post Office, Choctaw Nation, August 21, 1843." Other records show that Olmstead had joined the Choctaw Mission of the American Board in 1837, had been assigned to Wheelock upon arrival, and had established "Norwalk Station" as an outpost of Wheelock Mission. The site of Norwalk was "about five miles west by north from Wheelock," according to Alfred Wright, and slightly more than a mile northeast of the present town of Valliant.

In his 1843 letter Olmstead reported to Agent Armstrong that he "had the pleasure of visiting the /̲Choctaw̲7 schools twice during the past year." But he mentioned no school nor teacher by name and told nothing about Norwalk; instead he made general remarks about the status of the Choctaw schools, what should be done for their improvement, and the prospects for success of the institutions established by the School Act of 1842. Since Norwalk eventually acquired a reputation among the Choctaws as an academy which stressed music, it is worth noting that Olmstead elaborated upon the value of music in teaching the English language to the Choctaws as an oral approach. In support of this thesis he wrote that the mission teachers:

> . . . must teach the children English, which to most of the Choctaws is a foreign language. It is very difficult to teach a native to comprehend the meaning of English composition, written geography, or the relation of numbers, and correct pronunciation. I have found even that these youths acquire their own language easiest orally. There is no branch of English science they will acquire so readily as music in singing by rote. Most of them have a good musical ear, and some large choirs have sung pieces with a good degree of harmony and musical expression.

Olmstead continued at length in this vein but he also praised the practical virtues of instruction in music. Evidence that he practiced his preachments appeared in these lines:

> I have found no remedy better than music for stupor and drowsiness, which is unavoidably common in hot climates; I never failed to awake and fix the attention in this way. Other remedies often produce dullness of application, and in many cases fretfulness. Music regulates many evils in the life of children; it sweetens and cheers the hours, as they are quickly hurried to eternity.

With such a founder, it is quite understandable that Norwalk School should develop a reputation for music instruction. A century later, Miss Muriel H. Wright, long-time editor of the Chronicles of Oklahoma, and herself of Choctaw blood, justifiably referred to Norwalk as " . . . the Choctaw school for small boys . . . noted for its voice training and class singing."

Olmstead's unexpected death, soon after the above letter was written, led to the appointment at Norwalk of another young man, Charles C. Copeland of Vermont. Aged twenty-four, he had joined the Choctaw Mission in 1842; his first assignment was that of teacher at Stockbridge near Eagle Town. Copeland took charge of Norwalk in November, 1843, and made his first report to Agent Armstrong on August 15, 1844. There is evidence that Norwalk was considered a district school, perhaps the successor to the Treaty school taught for several years in Apukshunnubbee District by H. G. Rind. At least Copeland told Agent Armstrong that one difficulty encountered "in keeping a district school in successful operation" was the irregular attendance of the Indian children. This irregularity, he believed, stemmed not only from "insubordination" of the youngsters at home plus parental indifference to education and the need for children to work, but from a general "want of public opinion or interest in favor of schools . . . ." Whatever the reasons, Copeland noted that although "more than 50 [had] been at my school" the average daily attendance had been no more than twenty. Possibly this letter was part of a campaign to make Norwalk a boarding school where class attendance could be more tightly controlled. It will be remembered, also, that Spencer Academy was having its troubles at this time and many Choctaw leaders believed that a basic cause for the failure in discipline at Spencer was its size. The likelihood of adding a boys' academy to take care of the need caused by reducing the enrollment at Spencer may have been in Copeland's mind when he mentioned attendance troubles, but hard evidence to support this supposition cannot be produced.

It is true, however, that on October 7, 1845, an Act of the General Council was approved by the chiefs which placed Norwalk under control of the American Board with the same status and arrangements which had been specified for the boarding schools previously established by the Act of 1842. It is also true that the Council had Spencer Academy on its collective mind at the time, because the Act establishing Norwalk as a boarding school for boys was actually a section of the Act which placed Spencer Academy under "Assembly's Board." The Act further authorized that the "salary heretofore received by Mr. Rind," of the Apukshunnubbee District School, be assigned to the American Board in support of Norwalk. As superintendent, Alfred Wright reported that "Norwalk School" went into operation as a boarding academy "under the appropriation" in February, 1846. Connected with the station were C. C. Copeland, "steward," and Mrs. Copeland; "H. U. Pitkin, teacher, and Miss M. Cotton, assistant in the family." Copeland, who had married Cornelia Ladd in 1844 and had been licensed to preach in 1845, remained in charge of Norwalk until 1849 when he was shifted to Mount Pleasant, a new station in what is now northeast Bryan County, Oklahoma.

During the first term as a contract school, Wright gave the total Norwalk enrollment as thirty-two, of whom the "number boarded" was twenty-one and the average attendance twenty-five. Fourteen of the boarding students were "on the appropriation"; of the remaining seven, six paid their own board and one was "supported by the mission." Most of the boys "on the appropriation" were beginners and "quite young," but their "proficiency" was reported as "highly satisfactory." Eight of the appropriation students had learned the alphabet, had thoroughly reviewed the "Common School Primer," and had memorized "a variety of useful and interesting matter." Five had completed Emerson's Mental Arithmetic, three the "2d book of Emerson," and three had begun Smith's Arithmetic and were "well acquainted with the ground rules and with federal money." Twelve of the fourteen had commenced study of Swift's First Lessons in Natural Philosophy, one was studying Olney's Geography, and the Bible was a daily study for all. In line with Olmstead's belief in the value of music, daily singing was scheduled and three hours were set aside each week for "learning, reciting, and practising the first lessons in music."

P. P. Brown, the visiting Baptist missionary from Armstrong Academy whose description of Spencer Academy was cited earlier, wrote down his impressions of both Wheelock and Norwalk when he visited them in July, 1847. In fact, Mr. Brown visited most of the Choctaw schools during a three-week period, except for Fort Coffee and New Hope, and attended the final examinations given at each. Brown was at Norwalk Academy on Sunday and Monday, July 11 and 12. According to the Agent's report for 1847, the number of boys "in regular attendance" at Norwalk was twenty-seven; Brown reported the "average number" as twenty-two. Observing that the boys were "mostly small" and understood the English language, he believed that sixteen were "on the appropriation" while the rest were day scholars. The appropriations for Norwalk, according to Brown--he wrote, "I think"--

were $800 from the Choctaw Nation and $160 from the American Board." His impression was that, unlike the Choctaw Academy, the parents clothed the boys. Of the Sunday activities he noted that the religious exercises "consisted in Sabbath School duties," that "Banvard's series" was studied, and that at the close of the exercises books were distributed "to be read during the day." That night, "after worship," each boy was requested to report on what he had read. Some of them, according to Brown, were able to relate nearly all they had read, "frequently reciting verbatim."

The examinations, which began at an early hour on Monday, covered spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, natural philosophy, and music. Brown recorded no judgments concerning the examinations, good or bad, but he was impressed by the music and wrote:

> Some attention is paid to [music] in all the schools; but more in this than any other. The pupils are taught the principles, and learn to sing by the rules. The teacher [Pitkin] is exceedingly fond of the study, and takes great delight in teaching it. Several pieces, both sacred and secular, were sung by the boys, to the great amusement of the spectators.

Of interest in this connection was the mention by Agent Rutherford in his 1847 report that the instruction in music at Norwalk was given by Mr. Pitkin "on the plan of the Boston Academy." The Agent added that:

> . . . Mr. Pitken [*sic*] had taken great pains to interest the boys in vocal music. He had them so well trained that he could at pleasure cause the entire school, without the slightest discord, to sound any given note in the gamut. The perfection they had attained in their musical exercises was in fact astonishing, but it was by no means at the expense of other branches. Whatever they had learned at all, had evidently been taught thoroughly.

Brown also wrote that Thomas Leflore, chief of the Apukshunnubbee District, stated in an address at the close of the exercises that he had previously opposed establishment of the schools but had become "decidedly in their favor."

On Tuesday, Mr. Brown attended the examinations at Wheelock, where forty-five pupils were examined by the two teachers of the primary and higher departments. Of the total 1847 enrollment, he stated, twenty-four were:

> . . . educated and maintained at the expense of the /̲Choctaw̲/ nation; 13 attended as day scholars, boarding at home; and 8 were boarded at the expense of their friends, or in consideration of their services . . . .

He was impressed by "Mr. Wright's excellent stone church" in which the exercises were held. Not quite complete, construction of the building had begun the year before, some $2,000 had been spent, and Brown rightly termed it the "best edifice of its kind in the Nation." A "respectable number" were present to witness the recitations which were "agreeably interspersed" with numbers by the school choir. As at Norwalk, Brown made no judgments as to the degree of excellence exhibited by the pupils during the examinations. He did mention two exhibits favorably, one of needlework and the other of "perspective drawing," praising the latter as "very neat" and complimenting Miss /̲Caroline̲/ Dickinson, the drawing instructor, as a "natural artist and an accomplished teacher." The articles of needlework were "exposed for sale" at the close of the exercises, the proceeds to be applied to completion of the church building.

By the close of the 1847-1848 school term, Wheelock and Norwalk were firmly established as institutions generally approved by the Choctaw people. In his 1848 report, Samuel M. Rutherford, successor to William Armstrong as Choctaw Agent, was mildly complimentary concerning the work at Wheelock and Norwalk, remarking that, respectively, the schools had "made good progress in the branches taught" and had "progressed well in general." The 1848 reports, in the absence of Mr. Wright, were made by Mr. C. C. Copeland, designated by Rutherford as "the teacher at the Norwalk school." Wright had requested and received a leave of absence from the Choctaw Mission for several months during the spring and summer of 1848. The request was made "for the benefit of Mrs. Wright's health" and approved by the Mission along with a suggestion that, if his health permitted, Mr. Wright "superintend the printing of his translations," presumably by the American Bible Society.

Mr. Copeland reported an enrollment of forty-five at Wheelock in 1848, twenty-three in the primary department under Miss Caroline Dickinson and twenty-two in the higher department taught by Miss Dolbeare. In addition to the academic program, Copeland noted that the girls had "made good proficiency in needle work" and were being taught "to some extent" to perform properly the duties of a housewife. For Norwalk Academy, his particular responsibility, Copeland reported thirty-one enrolled, sixteen "supported by the appropriation," and an average attendance of twenty-seven. Noting that a "good proficiency" had been achieved in "all the studies" at Norwalk, Copeland stated that weekly exercises had also been required in declamation, composition, and vocal music. The weekly exercise in composition had been limited to those who were "able to write a legible hand," a sensible precaution. The emphasis on music was continued. Copeland observed that: "Most of the school are familiar with the rudiments of vocal music, and a good proportion read plain and sacred music with proficiency." One unusual practice at Norwalk under Copeland's administration was payment of the boys who worked overtime, although the lads were not allowed to use the money for themselves. The only mention of this practice was found in a statement made by Copeland to Agent Rutherford on July 19, 1848, when he wrote:

> The boys have been required to labor from two to four hours in each day; and, on Saturdays, they have labored one-half of the day, and the other half has been considered their own time. Many of them have labored during their play hours, for which they have been compensated. The money they have thus received has been voluntarily devoted to charitable purposes.

Superintendent Wright had returned to the Choctaw Nation in the fall of 1848 and was the reporter for the 1848-1849 term. Enrollment for that year at Wheelock Seminary was forty-nine, twenty-four of whom received their board from the Choctaw appropriation while "most of the other children, boarded at the station," paid a moderate price for their meals. Three of those on the appropriation, being orphans, were also clothed. The course of study was about the same as that given for the first year. Ten were "writing composition," twenty-seven were merely "writing," twenty-seven could read and spell well, and the remaining twenty-two could accomplish only "easy reading and spelling." Enrollment at Norwalk Academy was given as twenty-six, with an average daily attendance of twenty-one. The Choctaw Nation had furnished $300 for the salary of Mr. Pitkin, the teacher, and board for sixteen boys. Subjects taught during the term were much the same as in other institutions; but in addition to the five and a half hours devoted to their books during the day and, unlike the daily schedule for any other Choctaw school, an hour and a half was added at night, when "the evenings /_were_7 sufficiently long for that purpose."

In this same 1849 report, dated October 25, Wright made special mention of the teacher at Norwalk:

> Mr. Pitkin has been the teacher of the school from its commencement in February, 1846; and it affords the superintendent much pleasure to be able to bear testimony to the fidelity and diligence of the teacher, and to the proficiency and mental culture of his pupils; and especially does he think the teacher and his pupils worthy of commendation for the proficiency made in singing--an exercise which he thinks should be introduced into every school.

Mr. Pitkin had continued the emphasis on music instruction which had begun at Norwalk under Jared Olmstead. But this unusual praise for one of his teachers by Superintendent Wright may have been in reaction to a request from the Choctaw school Trustees, publicized in August, 1849, by an open letter to the Choctaw General Council which was printed in the Choctaw Telegraph. This was the same letter which criticized Spencer Academy and suggested reducing the enrollment of that institution. Of Norwalk and Mr. Pitkin the trustees had written:

> On the 30th day of July, the school at Norwalk was examined. We are sorry to say that this school did not meet the expectation of the trustees; the scholars did not appear to have much knowledge of books. In our opinion it is improbable that the fault is entirely with the scholars, but principally in the one in whose charge they are. The trustees, therefore, have written to the Rev. A. Wright, superintendent, and requested him to remove Mr. Pitkin; and it is hoped another teacher will be selected to fill his place at the commencement of the next session.

Mr. Wright, however, did not remove Mr. Pitkin but instead gave him a strong recommendation.

As is so often the case with teachers, then and now, it was probably not Mr. Pitkin's performance in the classroom which caused the Trustees to request his removal, but his open espousal of a cause considered dangerous and radical at that time and in that place. In Pitkin's case, abolitionism was the cause and the four mixed-blood Trustees who opposed his retention were all slaveholders. Robert M. Jones was reputed to own several hundred slaves, who worked his several plantations scattered along the Choctaw side of Red River all the way from the present Bryan County, Oklahoma, to the Arkansas line. As early as 1836, the General Council of the Choctaw Nation had passed an Act which not only made it illegal to teach "slaves how to read, to write, or to sing," but provided that any citizen of the United States, "acting as a missionary, or preacher," or following any other occupation, who actively promoted the "most fatal and destructive doctrine of abolitionism," should be forced to leave the Choctaw Nation and stay out of it "forever." It had become known that Mr. Pitkin was an active abolitionist; the Trustees therefore called for his removal from the Nation, and Alfred Wright defended him as a competent teacher.

In any case, Wright did not remove Pitkin in 1849, because in 1850 the teacher became the center of a newspaper controversy. He was attacked by the editor of the Clarksville Northern Standard, first newspaper in north Texas, as a dangerous radical who was spreading the insidious gospel of abolitionism in the region. Mr. Pitkin, it seems, was "the only individual in a hundred miles of Clarksville" who could repair and tune pianos and was therefore in great demand during vacation periods to perform such services. Undoubtedly, during the hours spent at such work in any home, Texas or Choctaw, he conversed with the lady of the house and exposed his abolitionist beliefs; these were then duly reported to her husband. The attacks by the Northern Standard were answered by J. P. Kingsbury, who defended Pitkin in particular and the Choctaw missionaries in general from the blanket charge of dangerous radicalism.

The problem of slavery was a thorny one for the Choctaw Mission in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. The older missionaries, such as Cyrus Kingsbury, who had come west with the Choctaws on the Trail of Tears, were likely to take the position that perhaps slavery was morally wrong but was established by law and not something with which they should concern themselves as ministers of the Gospel. Rev. John Edwards, a native of New York state who became superintendent of Wheelock in October, 1853, explained the attitude toward slavery adopted by many Northern missionaries to the Choctaws when he wrote:

> Slavery existed to some extent among the Choctaws. About twenty-five hundred negroes were held in bondage among them. The Choctaws dwelling in their country west of Arkansas numbered about eighteen thousand.
>
> My sentiments on the subject of slavery were such that I could live among them without giving offense. While esteeming it an undesirable institution, and therefore not to be perpetuated, and disapproving many of the laws connected with the system, and many of the proceedings under it, yet I did not deem it necessarily a sin to hold slaves. It seemed to me that the possession of the amount of power over a fellow man conferred by it was not in itself wrong. All depended upon the way in which the power was used. It might be of benefit to both servant and master. But it was very liable to abuse, and was in fact often greatly abused. I never deemed myself fit to be a master. I would be altogether too easy. So I had no disposition to buy a slave even if I had had the means to do so.
>
> With these views I had no hesitation in receiving masters as well as servants to the communion of the church. I also hired slaves as necessity required. They were glad to be hired by the missionaries.

On the other hand, some of the younger teachers and missionaries, like Pitkin, were likely to be outright abolitionists who believed in a "higher law" which made it mandatory for them as Christians to fight slavery at every opportunity. But also as Christians, the missionaries worked together and it was not until 1859, just as the Civil War was about to begin, that the American Board discontinued its work among the Choctaws. And in 1849 it was still possible for Alfred Wright, who occasionally used slave labor at Wheelock, to defy the Trustees when they asked him to remove a good teacher for ideological reasons. Mrs. Wright once answered a friend in New England, who had expressed disapproval of the fact that Wheelock Mission sometimes employed slaves to do needed work, by writing:

> If there are individuals in New England who work as hard as we do, I was so unfortunate as not to find them. My violent illness last winter caused by dipping 40 dozen candles, and the relapse which brought me so near the grave was occasioned by going out, well wrapped up, to see about the making of soap. It was easier for me to dip candles than to cook, and besides unless well made we could not use them to any profit. The best of dipped candles are another kind of light to what those enjoy in the Northeast, who can see so well to find fault with us.

Neither the minutes of the Choctaw Mission nor the Reports of the Commissioner mention Mr. Pitkin after 1850, so that he must have left the Choctaw Nation not long after the newspaper publicity which branded him an abolitionist.

Alfred Wright lived only a few years after this incident, his death occuring on March 31, 1853, at the age of sixty-five. For a mortal whose health was never of the best, his accomplishments were almost unbelievable. For the last twenty years of his life, according to those who knew him best, because of chronic heart disease he was unable to walk more than a "few rods" without resting or to lift with his hands more than a few pounds without the "greatest distress." Yet he labored unceasingly to serve his adopted people, not only as a minister but as a teacher, translator, and physician. Harriet Bunce Wright, more truly a helpmeet than most wives, was a talented and remarkable woman who worked beside her husband and cared for him; without her aid his life would have been shorter and his accomplishments fewer. When Wright died his work had been firmly established, for both his church and school endured into the twentieth century. Few will question the truth of the eulogy delivered by Cyrus Kingsbury a few weeks after Wright's death, in a memorial sermon based on Hebrews 11:4, "He being dead, yet speaketh." After recounting Wright's fruitful thirty years among the Choctaws, 1823 to 1853, Kingsbury said:

> When a long series of years shall have passed away this will be said of Mr. Wright by the Choctaws, there is a reason to believe and with perfect truth and sincerity, [that] Mr. Wright spent his life not in seeking his own advantage but in going good to others. I know not how it may strike others, but for myself I would rather possess the character that Mr. Wright has left than all the gold that has been dug from the mines of California.

In accordance with his request, Alfred Wright was buried in the Wheelock Cemetery, near the church and school which he had established and to which he had given the best years of his life.

After Wright's death, the school term was completed under the supervision of Mrs. Wright. Her report of August 12, 1853, not only gave information concerning Wheelock but closed with a vita and tribute to her departed husband. Mr. Wright, she said: ". . . was prudent in counsel, sound in judgment, firm in purpose, steady in action, and conscientious in the discharge of every duty." And there was more. The 1853 report for Norwalk Academy was made by Edwin Lathrop, who had been in charge there since 1850 as steward. Lathrop gave no hint in his report, but Norwalk was soon to lose its financial support, even though the controversial Pitkin had been replaced as the teacher by John K. Harris, a graduate of Williams College who had been highly recommended to Alfred Wright by Dr. Hopkins, the college president. The yearly funds which sustained Norwalk amounted to $1,533.33 and were derived from three sources, to wit: Article XX, Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, for a "district" school, $833.33; appropriation by the Choctaw Council, $300; and the American Board, $400. In spite of protests from the Choctaws that the district schools had not been in existence for the full twenty years specified by the Treaty, payment of the $833.33 was discontinued after December 31, 1853. Because of the careful management of Mr. Lathrop, however, Norwalk Academy was able to complete the 1853-1854 term. After the examinations on July 3, 1854, the station was dissolved and Norwalk Academy passed into oblivion.

In the meantime, Rev. John Edwards, a descendant of Jonathan Edwards, noted theologian of eighteenth century New England, became superintendent of Wheelock Seminary. A graduate of both Princeton College (1848) and Princeton Seminary (1851), he ranked second in his graduating class at the latter institution. Young Edwards--he was only twenty-five in 1853--and his wife had been on the staff at Spencer before his appointment to the position at Wheelock, where he remained until the summer of 1861.

His first annual report, September 21, 1854, gave an average attendance of thirty-six out of a total enrollment of thirty-one boarding and nine day scholars. During the Edwards regime the policy of dividing the boarding students into two "families" was continued. One group was supervised by Mrs. H. K. Copeland, wife of the steward; the other group lived with the Edwards family, but was supervised by Miss Sara Kerr. The new superintendent reported no changes in the curriculum; but he did remark that some "instruction in housewifery" was given to all the girls, that less attention was paid to "fancy work than heretofore," and that a "considerable amount of plain, useful sewing" had been done. Superintendent Edwards was somewhat more strict than Alfred Wright had been in trying to enforce the regulations. For example, between 1853 and 1861 the annual enrollments at Wheelock were smaller by ten or twelve students than they had numbered during the Wright regime. This decrease was due in part to the fact that Edwards began to enforce certain rules concerning length of stay at the Seminary, rules which Wright had overlooked. In the 1854 report Edwards noted, in connection with the drop in enrollment from forty-eight in 1853 to forty during his first year at Wheelock, that he had refused to enroll four students. One had been at the Seminary six years and three others for five years, "thus completing" their time according to the regulations recommended for Wheelock in 1843 by "the speaker and trustee." Whatever the reasons, the number of girls enrolled at Wheelock were fewer under Superintendent Edwards. However, the number of students supported by the contract with the Choctaws remained the same--twenty-four or twenty-five--so that most of the enrollment drop came from among the "day scholars."

The report made by Edwards to Agent Douglas Cooper on August 17, 1857, listed the entire staff, with their salaries and home states. Unlike the 1857 report from Fort Coffee, no ages were given. The list showed:

Position	Name	Native State	Salary
Superintendent	Rev. John Edwards	New York	$400
	Mrs. Rosanna Edwards	Pennsylvania	---
Housekeeper	Miss Mercy Whitcomb	Maine	100
Steward	Samuel T. Libby	Maine	100
Matron	Mrs. H. E. Libby	New Jersey	100
[illegible]	Miss H. E. Woodward	[illegible]	100
Teacher	Miss Lucy E. Lovell	Connecticut	100
Teacher	Miss Mary W. Lovell	Connecticut	100

In addition, two "colored servants" were employed. The Misses Lovell had "come but lately," so that the teacher during most of the 1856-1857 term had been Mrs. Edwards. Mr. Edwards noted he, his wife, and Miss Whitcomb derived their support entirely from the American Board, while the others were paid from the "school fund." This fund totaled $1866.67, of which $1600 was from the Choctaw Nation and $266.67 from the American Board. "From this fund," Edwards stated, "the scholars are boarded and the salaries of those who give their whole time to the school are paid."

Until the school closed in 1861, the staff remained approximately the same with one exception. Miss Mary J. Semple of Steubenville, Ohio, joined the Lovells as a teacher for two years, 1858-1860. In 1860 she married Henry Hotchkin, son of Ebenezer Hotchkin, and reared a large family, several of whom served the Choctaw people with distinction. Mary Semple Hotchkin continued to work among the Indians, serving them for forty years "as doctor, nurse, adviser, teacher, and friend," to cite the words of W. B. Morrison, historian of Presbyterian mission work among the Choctaws. The last official report made to Agent Cooper by Superintendent Edwards was dated August 8, 1860. The enrollment was given as thirty-five, of whom twenty-five were girls supported by the Choctaw contract. Of the ten day scholars, Edwards noted that six were "male." He also informed Cooper that the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions had agreed to accept responsibility for Wheelock and the other schools whose support by the American Board was discontinued in 1859. Edwards hinted that the Presbyterian Board, in addition to assuming responsibility for the "remainder of the time for which the appropriation was made" for Wheelock, was considering a four-year contract.

If ever actually prepared, such a contract was not implemented. Wheelock Seminary was closed before completion of the 1860-1861 school term, at which time Mr. Edwards was forced, together with most of his mission family, to return to the North. In the spring of 1861 Texas and Arkansas fire-eaters, abetted by slaveholding Choctaw mixed bloods, pressured the Choctaw leadership to ally the Choctaw Nation with the newly formed Confederate States of America. As a suspected abolitionist, John Edwards was visited at Wheelock in mid-May by a vigilante delegation of Choctaw mixed bloods and north Texans who interrogated the missionary about his political beliefs after searching his home for fire arms. No guns were found. However, although the delegation decided Edwards was not an abolitionist--one of them remarked that, "If we did /‾believe it_7, we'd swing you"--they were displeased when he refused to pledge himself to fight on the side of the South in case war came to the Choctaw Nation. Edwards told them, in part:

> Gentlemen, you might as well ask me to strike my Mother. I was born in the North; my friends and kindred are still living there; I do not believe the Southern states have a right to secede, nor that the government has given them any cause to rebel. What I wish to do is to stay here quietly and go on with my work for the Choctaws, not taking part in the war on either side.

But this was not enough for the partisan Confederates and Edwards was ordered to leave the Choctaw Nation.

By early June, matters had reached the boiling point. Edwards was forced to flee north to Lenox mission on the upper Kiamichi River, where he remained until joined by his wife and family, as well as others from the staffs of Spencer Academy and Koonsha Seminary. Not all the Northern missionaries left, however. For example, Mr. Libby, the steward at Wheelock, stayed behind and acted as caretaker for the Wheelock buildings until most were destroyed by fire in 1869. Since Libby had become a slaveholder, his Southern sympathies, although he was a native of Maine, were not questioned. Edwards and his party were able to make their way north from Lenox without incident.

When questioned en route, Edwards presented two documents which served to identify him as harmless to the Southern cause. One was a passport signed by George Hudson, Choctaw principal chief, on June 6, 1861, and countersigned by "Douglas H. Cooper, Col. C. S. Army," former United States agent to the Choctaws. Among other stipulations, Hudson and Cooper certified that Edwards was "not an abolitionist and not even a free soiler" and that he was traveling north to "visit his relatives and for the health of his wife." The second document was a recommendation from Robert M. Jones, leading slaveholder among the Choctaws, which read:

> Doaksville, C. N. June 5, 1861.
> This is to certify that we have known the bearer, the Rev. John Edwards, for the past ten years. He is a Presbyterian minister and has been laboring among the Choctaws as Pastor of the Church at Wheelock. We can certify that he is in no way tinctured with abolition sentiments, but on the contrary has been a strong opposer of everything of that kind. He is about to leave us on his way to Little Rock, and we take pleasure in bearing testimony to his character as a gentleman and a minister. We recommend him to our friends and to the community through which he may chance to pass.
>
> R. M. Jones.

Not long after the death of his wife in 1881, John Edwards returned to the Choctaw country from California, where he resided for more than twenty years after his departure from the Indian country in 1861. He was assigned to Wheelock in 1883, as pastor of the church, and supervised the restoration of the stone church building. In 1896 Edwards returned to San Jose, California, where he died in 1903 at the age of seventy-five. Wheelock Seminary was also rebuilt during this period. In 1884 it was re-opened as a boarding school for fifty Choctaw orphan girls under the superintendency of William Bay Robe. For several years Wheelock was operated under a contract with the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, then by the Choctaw superintendent of schools, and from 1898 until 1955 by the Federal government as a boarding school for Indian girls. The buildings still stand, neglected but mute evidence of a splendid heritage, the determined and continuing effort of the Choctaw people to educate their women.

IX

THREE SEMINARIES: CHUWAHLA, IANUBBEE, AND KOONSHA

The second of the four seminaries for girls assigned to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions by the Public School Act of 1842 opened as a contract boarding school under the name of Chuwahla Female Seminary. Unlike Wheelock Seminary, which the law of 1842 had definitely located at Wheelock mission station, the sites for Chuwahla and its sister seminaries, Ianubbee and Koonsha, were each selected by a special committee appointed by the General Council for that purpose. Further, each of these three schools appropriately received Choctaw names, the only ones of the several Choctaw Boarding institutions of which this was true. A resulting difficulty for the student is numerous variations in spelling, the name of each of these institutions appearing in the records in different forms, sometimes even within the same document. For example, "Koonsha" also appears as "Koonshu," "Koonsher" and "Kusha"; "Chuwahla" as "Chuahla" and "Chuala"; and "Ianubbee" as "Iyahnubbe" and "Yanubi." For the sake of uniformity, spellings used here are the ones given in the Act of 1842.

One bit of evidence suggests that Koonsha Seminary was originally intended to be supervised by the Methodists. At least Peter Pitchlynn wrote Agent William Armstrong on December 12, 1842, that:

> The Rev. Mr. Ames has agreed that his society /Methodist/ shall take charge of Koonsha female seminary to be established in Pushmataha district at such place as shall be selected by a committee . . . .

What developed is not clear, but the law as finally passed assigned Koonsha to the American Board.

It was not until October, 1843, months after Wheelock had begun to function as a contract school, that the Council finally appointed John Frazier, William Bohanon, Forbis Leflore and "Rev. C. Kingsbury" to select a site for Chuwahla Female Seminary in "Apakshanubbi District." According to Cyrus Byington's Dictionary, "chuala"--"chuwahla" in the law of 1842--means "cedar." The location approved was the Pine Ridge mission station of Cyrus Kingsbury, some two miles west of Doaksville, and by March 1, 1844, the seminary was opened for the admission of boarding students. Whether or not Kingsbury desired the school and used his influence with the selection committee to secure it for his station, or whether the committee persuaded him that he should manage one of the female seminaries in spite of possible reluctance on his part, is a matter for conjecture. It is not conjecture, however, that Dr. Kingsbury, the most veteran of all the protestant missionaries, was most often selected by the Choctaw Mission of the American Board to represent the missionaries at annual meetings of the General Council and was held in great trust and respect by the Choctaw leadership. So it seems likely that he would have been pressured to accept supervision of one of the seminaries regardless of his personal wishes.

In any case, Chuwahla Seminary was officially located at Pine Ridge "about the middle of January," 1844, and opened for admission of contract pupils by the first of March. In fact, the regular mission school at Pine Ridge had begun classes on November 15, 1843, with "17 scholars who were boarded in the family" and six day scholars for a total of twenty-three. It is not clear from Kingsbury's 1844 report how many of the seventeen boarders already in school were included among the contract students selected for Chuwahla between March 1 and May 1, 1844. He simply stated that the selections for the new seminary included:

> . . . 3 from Mushalatubbee district, 4 from Pushmataha district, and 9 from Puckshenubbee district. This number was subsequently increased (by request of Colonel Pitchlynn and Colonel Fletcher) [Trustee and Chief, respectively of "Puckshenubbee" district] to 21. Some of these did not enter the seminary until May. Twelve others were boarded at the expense of their parents, or other friends; and there were 2 day-scholars--making 35 in all.

All the buildings used, as at Wheelock, had been erected at the expense of the American Board, and all furniture, farm tools, stock, wagons, horses, and other property also belonged to the American Board. As Wright had done at Wheelock, so Kingsbury did at Chuwahla. Costs of building, needed repairs, and the property in general were borne by the American Board, so that the total annual cash income from the General Council and other sources could be used to support the boarding scholars, pay the teachers, and purchase books and stationery.

The first full term for Chuwahla Seminary as a contract school was completed with a public examination on June 24, 1845, and was attended by two of the Trustees and a "large number of the parents and friends" of the school. The general reaction, Kengusbury reported to Agent William Armstrong, was good, and, "All appeared to be gratified. The trustees, in particular, expressed much satisfaction with the improvement the pupils had made." The total number "boarded at the seminary" during the year had been thirty-two. Twenty-four of these were contract boarders, the board of five was paid by parents, while the board and instruction of the remaining three had been "given by the mission." In addition to the $1,600 received from the Choctaw Nation, Kingsbury reported an additional $1,123 from the American Board. The Board's contribution was much larger than the contract stipulation, which would have totaled only $267 or one sixth of the Choctaw appropriation. In fact, for the fiscal year 1845-1846, the American Board furnished $6,000 to its Choctaw stations and schools. Tactfully, Kingsbury called attention to the Board's overpayment, mentioning that buildings had been erected and more than the full quota of "boarding scholars" supported during the year. These unusual expenses had made it necessary for the missionary board to make an unusually "liberal appropriation for the expenses of the seminary," he concluded.

Among events and accomplishments during the school year, Superintendent Kingsbury mentioned, after assuring Armstrong that the "most approved school books have been used," that all the girls were "now able to read in the Testament" and all had been required daily to recite a "verse or part of a verse" from memory. Further, singing was regarded as an "important branch of female education" and the progress of the pupils in that art had been "gratifying." Just as at New Hope and Wheelock, the girls at Chuwahla were required to help in the dining room and kitchen, being "divided into companies, each division taking its turn." Each "company" worked for a week at a time under the direction of Mrs. Kingsbury. Instruction had also included spinning, weaving, knitting, fancy work, the object, according to Kingsbury, being to give the girls "habits of industry." Among other achievements had been the manufacture of forty pairs of pantaloons for Spencer Academy, about eight miles to the north, for which payment was expected, and the manufacture and sale of "various articles of fancy work." The money thus acquired, some twenty or thirty dollars, was not kept by the girls for their own use but was dedicated to the purchase of books for the "native Sunday schools" in Pushmataha District, where books were much needed but had not been made available by appropriation "from the public funds." In concluding this report, Mr. Kingsbury wrote that: "All who boarded at the station have attended a Sunday school. Their progress in acquiring a knowledge of the doctrines and duties taught in the Gospel has been good."

In his statement for the next term, October 1, 1845, through July 15, 1846, the superintendent had words of praise for Miss Harriet Golding, or Goulding, from Ware, Massachusetts, who had become the principal teacher on the first day of January. Miss Golding remained with the school for more than ten years until she returned to Massachusetts in 1856 because of failing health. Kingsbury attested to her influence during her first year at Chuwahla with these words:

> Much labor has been bestowed on the school by Miss Golding since she took charge of it; and I am happy to say that the fruits of this labor, in the improvement of pupils, have been very gratifying. Much has been done, by familiar questions and answers, to give the pupils an understanding of their studies, and of what they read.

The enrollment for the year was thirty-five, and it was reported that the attendance had "generally been regular." Five students "boarded at home" and of the remaining thirty, three were "boarded for the labor they performed when out of school." The board of three others was paid by their parents, and twenty-four were "on the appropriation."

Concerning the school work, the following was remarked:

> 9 studied practical arithmetic;
> 18 do [ditto] mental arithmetic;
> 12 do Morse's geography
> 9 do Parley's geography;
> 7 do English grammar;
> 1 do History of the United States;
> 20 wrote.
>
> With the exception of four, all could read in the Testament and other books.

The lone scholar studying American history was among the first reported in any of the Choctaw schools, but not the last. Kingsbury noted, concerning the students doing knitting, sewing, and related work under the tutelage of Miss Dickinson, that their "improvement in industry has been very commendable." The weekly Sunday school had been continued, the attendance of all boarding students having been required. Among other goals of the Sabbath activity was listed that of emphasizing on the minds of the girls the "importance of obeying the Divine commands." The final examination for the term was attended by the district chief, the school Trustees, and parents and friends, all of whom "appeared gratified with the improvement that had been made." A material improvement was also reported by Mr. Kingsbury:

> A commodious framed school-house, 36 feet by 24, with a piazza on each side, and of a good height, and well lighted, has been built for the Chu-ah-la Female Seminary. It will be ready to be occupied at the commencement of the ensuing term.

The 1846-1847 term was relatively uneventful. Kingsbury reported forty-four on the roll, of which thirty-three were boarders; nine of these were not on the contract, but supported "by their friends, or by their own labor." But the 1847-1848 term was shortened by a memorable and destructive event, an act of God which could have resulted in great loss of life. On March 19, 1848, Pine Ridge was struck by a "terrific and destructive tornado," which laid the greater part of "the buildings, fences, &c.," in ruins. The schoolhouse, completed only a few months previously, was completely unroofed and otherwise much damaged. A two-story dormitory, "40 feet by 20 . . . with a piazza on each side," was entirely demolished. Seventeen were in this building, fifteen girls and their supervisors, Miss Hannah Bennett and Miss Juliet Slate, but none were killed and there were no serious injuries. Yet in this same house all twelve bedsteads were so damaged that not a whole one could be made "from what remained unbroken of them all." The only injury reported was the breaking of "the small bone of one ankle"; the owner of the ankle was not identified. Most of the outbuildings were destroyed completely and those remaining were much damaged. Mr. Kingsbury reported on June 30 that a start had been made on repairs and reconstruction but warned that considerable time and extra funds would be needed before the school could be reopened. His emotional reaction to the miraculous escape of his flock from death or serious injury was, "The arm of an Almighty Protector was there, and to the rough wind He said, 'hitherto shalt thou come, but no further.'"

The destruction of the station, he added, was a "mysterious event" and the school had never been "more pleasant and prosperous" than in the months preceding the storm. Kingsbury was sure that God had used the storm to accomplish some "wise and important end," just what it was impossible to know at the time but "we shall know hereafter." At the time, he wrote to Agent Samuel M. Rutherford, there were thirty-three pupils, all females "with one exception," and all were boarding students; twenty-four "on the appropriation," five supported by their parents, and four who worked for their keep. Rutherford, by the way, had succeeded William Armstrong as Agent; the latter's unexpected death had occurred at Doaksville in the summer of 1847. Kingsbury also reported that Miss Golding had continued as the teacher and that her "labours have given universal satisfaction." He also complimented the work of Miss Bennett and Miss Slate, noting that:

> Much patient and persevering attention has been given by these ladies to the instruction of their pupils in the making of garments both for men and women, in knitting, in fancy work, and in other branches of domestic industry.

Miss Bennett, according to the superintendent, had joined the mission in December and had "generously declined receiving any compensation for her services." It has been said that Kingsbury himself, in more than fifty years of service to the Choctaw Mission, received no salary as such; however he did receive expense money. In January, 1848, "Mr. and Mrs. Breed, from Connecticut" had joined the Pine Ridge staff to take charge of "the secular and domestic concerns of the station." Undoubtedly they were of great assistance to Kingsbury in the restoration of the property after the March storm.

The reconstruction of Chuwahla Seminary required almost eight months, and classes were not resumed until November 30, 1848. In mid-July, 1849, for a period of fifteen months following the storm, Kingsbury reported an unusual expenditure of $4,300. This sum included the unusual costs of rebuilding and repairs at the Seminary but, aided by additional funds from several sources, the Academy had recovered from the disaster with a small debt of only three hundred dollars. The Choctaw Council had made an emergency grant of $900, Good Water station had helped with $500, and the American Board had sent $604 in additional funds during the year. As a result, the school was able to recover from the disaster without acquiring an unmanageable deficit.

Although handicapped by the late opening, the Seminary completed a successful school year in July, 1849, with an enrollment of thirty-five and a "usual attendance" of thirty-one. For purposes of instruction, the group during the term had been divided into five classes. The first class of nine girls:

> . . . studied Greenleaf's Grammar, and recited through Morse's Geography; in Olney's Arithmetic they advanced as far as interest; with the exception of one, all went through with and reviewed the first and second parts of Miss Swift's Natural Philosophy, and the first three periods of Goodrich's History of the United States.

The second class, eleven girls, covered "Greenleaf's Mental Arithmetic," studied as "far as South America" in Morse's Geography, and read the first two parts of "Miss Swift's Philosophy." Also these first two classes "attended daily" to reading, writing, and spelling. A third class of six, in addition to reading, writing, and spelling, made "some progress in Mental Arithmetic and Philosophy." A fourth class of seven "attended principally" to reading and spelling, using "the Testament" as one reader and memorizing a verse therefrom daily. A fifth class of two girls, who had not entered until May, 1849, had "advanced so as to spell in words of two letters."

While Chuwahla was thus developing, both Koonsha and Ianubbee seminaries were also in the process of being established. Since the opening of Koonsha Seminary occurred several months before that of Ianubbee, the former will be discussed first. The word Koonsha was sometimes applied to one of the three or four great primitive divisions of the Choctaws in Mississippi, the Okla Chito or "Big People," who lived in central Mississippi, and whose chief villages were known as the Kunshak or "Cane" towns. The word Kunshaw or Koonsha, meaning "cane" or "reed," was undoubtedly the origin of the school's name, perhaps because Choctaws from the "Cane" towns in Mississippi had settled in the vicinity of Good Water where the

Seminary was located. Although a committee to select the site for Koonsha had been authorized at the same time as the one for Chuwahla, the opening of Koonsha was delayed until May 1, 1844, two months later than the Pine Ridge school, and then only as the beginning of a piecemeal process. Cyrus Kingsbury served on the Koonsha site committee, designated to locate "the Female Seminary in the Pushimataha District"; other members were "Iacha-hopaiyi," William McCoy, and Benjamin Brashears, presumably all residents of the District. Meeting in January, 1844, soon after its designation by the Council the previous October, at the Pushmataha District "council-ground near Boggy," the Committee approved the Koonsha school for Good Water. This site was an American Board station, ten miles southwest of Fort Towson in the forks of the Red and Kiamichi rivers and nine miles from the mouth of the latter stream. Under the supervision of Ebenezer Hotchkin, a mission school of the American Board had been in operation at Good Water for several years. In 1841 Hotchkin reported twenty pupils, boys and girls, in a school partly supported by United States funds. His 1843 report was made in general terms; he merely said "our number has increased," without listing figures, and he complained about irregularity of attendance.

News of the first contract students at Koonsha appeared in a letter to Agent Armstrong, dated August 3, 1844, and signed by "P. T. Hotchkin." The signature was that of Mrs. Ebenezer Hotchkin, nee Philena Thatcher, who explained that her husband, the superintendent, was absent on business for the American Board. He had received, wrote Mrs. Hotchkin:

> . . . a commission . . . to go to New England and obtain teachers for this and for all the schools now under /the Board's/ direction. He is now in Maine, and will probably return, accompanied by the teachers and other assistants, some time in November.

William H. Goode, superintendent at Fort Coffee Academy, attested to Mr. Hotchkin's success as a recruiter. In December, 1844, Goode visited many of the American Board schools and noted that the Koonsha superintendent had just returned from the East with a "re-enforcement of [fourteen] lay helpers and teachers," nine of whom were "unmarried females" from Lowell, Massachusetts, Hotchkin's native state, and "other places." It was in this account that Goode made the statement that Kingsbury and other missionaries served the American Board a ". . . lifetime without salary, . . . receiving a meager subsistence. After the national appropriations were made, small salaries were allowed them."

In her husband's absence the actual opening of Koonsha Seminary as a contract boarding school thus became the responsibility of Mrs. Hotchkin. Before his departure for New England, Mr. Hotchkin had contracted with one John P. Melvon to erect the necessary buildings for the Seminary, the completion date being set for December 1, 1844. Before this time Mrs. Hotchkin arranged to accommodate a limited number of fifteen boarding students, the total to be increased as the facilities were enlarged, additional teachers recruited, and other necessary arrangements made. On May 1, 1844, thirteen girls were on hand, another arrived on June 1, but the fifteenth never appeared, for reasons unknown to Mrs. Hotchkin. A short term of less than three months was completed on July 22. Mrs. Hotchkin made no report on their academic progress but observed that the "children were uniformly docile and affectionate."

The first full year of operation by Koonsha Seminary began on October 1, 1844, and ended July 22, 1845. The annual account sent to Agent Armstrong by Ebenezer Hotchkin was quite informative. Among other things it indicated that Hotchkin may not have been as conversant with the Choctaw language as some of the other missionaries; at least, he consistently wrote "Koonsher" for Koonsha, which, of course, may have merely reflected his New England pronunciation of the Choctaw word. Hotchkin told Armstrong that the school commenced with "16 scholars under the appropriation," that by February 1 it was prepared to add seventeen more, but that "owing to the measles" only fifteen of the seventeen arrived and that several of these were late. When the year ended, thirty-eight students had been enrolled; thirty of these were under the contract, one was boarded by her parents, and seven were day scholars. The school subjects taught during the first full year were essentially the same as in the other academies. The girls had been, "Studying English grammar, 6; geography, 13; arithmetic, 13; writing, 25; read and spell well, 25; easy reading and spelling, 10." The grammar class "had been twice through Alguss," whatever that means, and had commenced parsing; six of the geography class had "recited from maps" and covered all other questions in "more than half of Mitchell's large geography," while in arithmetic only one student had "advanced as far as proportion." And, of course, the Bible was "daily and carefully studied" by all who could read, one memory verse was required each day, and "singing was taught as one branch of education." Each six-hour school day was opened with prayer and closed with "singing and prayer."

During school hours the girls were taught by two teachers, "Miss C. L. Downer and Miss C. M. Belden"; outside of school hours the girls were under the care of Mrs. Hotchkin and Miss L. E. Tilton. The supervision of "washing, ironing, &c," was the responsibility of Mrs. Hotchkin, while Miss Tilton taught "needle work, knitting, &c." No mention was made of girls helping in the kitchen or dining room. In addition to her other duties, for four months of the year Mrs. Hotchkin had taught reading, spelling, geography, and arithmetic to twelve boys of the neighborhood, three of whom could speak no English. The boys, however, were not included when the girls were examined in July before a visiting committee of three trustees, Peter P. Pitchlynn, Robert M. Jones, and George W. Harkins, and a number of parents and friends. According to Superintendent Hotchkin, all present:

> . . . appeared highly gratified with the appearance of the scholars and said publicly that their expectations were fully realized in the attainments made by the scholars in the knowledge of books, work, behavior, &c. With one or two exceptions our scholars are promising, and I think with the teachers that we now have, if their health should continue good, we may look forward to a school that will not be inferior to institutions of the same kind in New England or any other England.

In support of his statement, the Superintendent wrote that Miss Downer, a veteran teacher of long experience in New England, asserted "without any hesitation" that her Choctaw scholars were "as easily managed and . . . as apt to learn" as any students anywhere.

Hotchkin remarked that great improvement in speaking English was apparent among the girls. This ability, he believed, was of great importance and he emphasized that their education would "do but little good" unless they were taught to speak the English language. The emphasis is Hotchkin's. One scheme designed to promote this goal he described thus:

> For the last six weeks previous to the examination there were only three words of Choctaw spoken by the Scholars, viz: wak foui tush-pa /_exact meaning uncertain but some kind of cow--"wak"--and surely used in derision_7. The improvement made in speaking the English language was highly gratifying to us and to /_the_7 committee.

Hotchkin also mentioned that a "sabbath school" had been "sustained" during the ten months of the term. This school, he declared, greatly augmented the "prosperity of the week day school," because unless "governed and influenced" by religion, no school could prosper. In closing the report Hotchkin informed Agent Armstrong that all construction and other arrangements for "Koonsher" had been completed and on October 1, 1845, would be ready to receive the "whole number of boarders."

This "whole number" of contract students for the 1845-1846 term was forty-four, almost double the number of such students at any of the other four seminaries for girls. The Koonsha appropriation, of course, was $3,000 annually, as compared to the $1,600 received by each of the three girls schools in the Apukshunnubbee District, and it was therefore expected to accommodate a larger number. Of the forty-four, thirty had been "boarded through the whole term." Fourteen others, who were supposed to report on October 1, 1845, did not arrive on time and "one not until March." In addition, eight day scholars swelled the total enrollment to fifty-two for the year. A new "house," measuring twenty-six by eighteen feet, had provided "ample accommodations" for all the boarders, as Hotchkin put it, "as regards working, lodging, etc." Another building was also planned, a "framed house 42 by 32 feet," the materials for which were "nearly all, on the ground," and $400 had been raised to construct a new church. The superintendent reported a successful examination on July 24, attended by the "commissioners," parents, and "two chiefs, Col. /Thomas/ Leflore and Col. /Silas D./ Fisher." All, he said, were "highly pleased with the performance of their children."

No report was available for 1846-1847, but Hotchkin's summary for the 1847-1848 term, dated July 7, 1848, boasted that both he and other observers thought that "greater improvement" had been made during that year than during any previous one. The full complement of forty-four boarders had been joined by fifteen day scholars to boost the enrollment to fifty-nine. Miss Belden, teacher of the advanced class, had been sick and forced to miss three weeks, and an epidemic infection of the eyes had caused many scholars to lose "more than a month of study hours" during the winter and spring and indeed had attacked Hotchkin himself. Otherwise the year had been routine. Mention of "domestic duties" was made for the first time in any of these reports, the plan used at Wheelock and the other seminaries of dividing the girls into companies for performing the household chores being followed. The superintendent commented further that:

> Thirteen have learned to cut and fit dresses; forty-two can card and spin cotton; nine can weave. Forty yards have been woven by them this term. The filling for the above has been spun by the smaller girls. Some attention has also been paid to ornamental needle work.

The year 1848-1849 proved to be such a trying period that at its close Hotchkin wanted to give up the superintendency. The second sentence of his annual letter to the Agent, then Colonel John Drennen, dated August 8, 1849, read, "The school and station have suffered more this year than at any other time since it commenced operations." So depressed was he that he presented his written letter of resignation from the Koonsha superintendency--he dropped the "Koonsher" spelling by this time--to the September, 1849, meeting of the Choctaw Mission, to take effect on July 31, 1850. Cyrus Kingsbury and the brethren "freely conversed with him on the subject," expressed their regret, and passed a resolution referring the matter to the Prudential Committee of the American Board in Boston. Mr. Hotchkin's resignation was not accepted. Instead, the minutes of the Choctaw Mission for April 8, 1850, showed that Hotchkin was commissioned to visit the "churches in New England and elsewhere" to recruit helpers for the Mission. This, in effect, gave him a furlough and a change of scenery which helped to restore his morale. Evidence indicates that he did go East in the fall of 1850, returning before the school term ended in July, 1851. Hotchkin's annual report at that time mentioned that he had just returned from Washington and the East but gave no particulars about the journey.

But to return to the year 1848-1849. The events which led to Hotchkin's attempted resignation were harsh enough to try the soul of any saint. Soon after the school term began, both teachers died within a few weeks of each other, Miss Downer on October 15 and Miss Belden on November 3. The cause of death was not discovered. Mrs. Hotchkin filled both vacancies as one teacher until the arrival of Miss Judith Slate on November 16. She then continued as substitute in the other department--it is not clear which was put in charge of Miss Slate--until May 18, 1849, when Miss Angelina Hosmer, of Mount Holyoke Seminary, Massachusetts, arrived to fill the vacancy. Unbelievably, Hotchkin reported:

> This school, from the 10th of October until the 27th of July, did not lose a single day of school hours. Fidelity like this, on the part of the teachers, in sickness and health, deserves the gratitude of all.

The teachers were the only fatalities, but sickness plagued the students more than usual during this ill-starred term. Fourteen scholars were afflicted with scarlet fever; seventeen then contracted the whooping cough, which persisted with some of the patients for four months; and finally twenty-seven came down with the mumps. There were no deaths, and

Hotchkin wrote that, "If /‾God_7 had not almost miraculously interposed some must have died."

The state of mind which led to his resignation after such a year is understandable. He wrote the following paragraph to Agent Drennen, venting his depressed feelings after the year's ordeal:

> Here I would beg leave to make one suggestion. After being in some measure connected with this boarding school system among the Choctaws for the last twenty years, and having had the care of /‾Koonsha Seminary_7 from its commencement, I have come to the settled conclusion, that under the present arrangement this school cannot be carried on successfully for any length of time. The requisitions are two /_sic_7 severe; they are so for the scholars; they are so for the teachers. The fact is, we are overworked--we are over-driven. Nine out of twelve months is as much as scholars can study profitably in this climate; and that is all that can profitably be devoted to instruction by the teachers. All beyond is lost labor, and worse than lost, for the good acquired does not balance the evil incurred. I appeal to every superintendent, teacher, and pupil, who is able to judge, if the above is not correct. July, August, and September are needed as months of relaxation from the labor of these larger boarding schools, that the constitution be restored in some measure, from the constant wear of nine months' toil. I do hope, as far as this school is concerned, that this subject will be borne in mind by the council and agent.

Perhaps it was a negative reaction from the Council and the Agent to this plea for a shortened school year which triggered Hotchkin's abortive resignation in September, 1849. But apparently the trip East during the 1850-1851 term, when Mrs. Hotchkin must have directed the Koonsha Seminary, restored the Superintendent's will to serve.

The third and last of the girls' schools with Choctaw names to be opened under the aegis of the American Board was Ianubbee Female Seminary.

No act of the Choctaw Council naming a committee to locate this institution was found; but surely Cyrus Kingsbury had a great influence in locating the school at Stockbridge mission station near Eagle Town. Named for his native village in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, Stockbridge had been established by Cyrus Byington in 1837 when Bethabara Mission, the original Mountain Fork Station established by Loring S. Williams, was closed. The meaning of the name "Ianubbee," according to Byington's A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language, is "ironwood" or "witchhazel." As with the other stations, a school had been taught at Stockbridge as part of the mission work since its establishment. When the School Act of 1842 was passed, the school at Stockbridge was being taught by Charles C. Copeland, already mentioned for his work at Norwalk Academy between 1843 and 1849. As usual at these mission schools, some scholars who resided at a distance were boarded in the missionary family. For example, Byington mentioned Mr. Copeland and the school at Stockbridge in his 1843 report to Agent Armstrong, dated September 22, and noted that, "Five of the scholars were boarded in my family, and in a majority of the instances gratuitously." Selection of Stockbridge as the site for Ianubbee Seminary had not been made at this date, or at least Byington made no mention of it.

But the location must have been determined soon afterward. Byington's report of September 16, 1844, showed construction as well under way for the new institution and gave a detailed account of the construction and costs entailed in preparing for the opening of the new school. The location was east of Mountain Fork River on high ground at the chalybeate /‾iron_7 springs and near the home of Jacob Folsom on the road to Little Rock. Here about three acres of land in the piney woods was cleared to furnish a building site, sparing several trees to furnish shade. Byington stated that contracts "for the erection of nearly all the buildings" had been arranged by this date. In various stages of progress, some nearing completion while others had just begun construction, were a school-house, steward's house, teacher's house, meat-house, kitchen, and dining room. Contracts were yet to be made for a "corn-crib, stable, and fences." None of three chimneys which were needed had yet been built; a freshly-dug well, thirty-three feet in depth, still lacked its lining of stone; and the houses required weatherboarding. Before the institution could be ready to receive its pupils, not only must the above work be completed, but provisions and supplies of various kinds had to be obtained. An incomplete list of items yet to be secured included such diverse things as bedsteads and other furniture, bedding and table linen, tools, milch cows, and food staples. Finally, his staff was incomplete, and Byington wrote of this need:

> A steward with a family, and two unmarried female teachers of good qualifications, have been applied for to the American Board, and it is hoped that they may be able to reach us in the month of December next.

If all went as planned, Byington believed the Seminary could commence as a boarding school with sixteen scholars on January 1, 1845. As it turned out, he was optimistic.

The steward, David H. Winship, accompanied not only by his wife and infant son but also by the "unmarried female teachers," Lydia S. Hall and Harriet N. Keyes, arrived at Stockbridge in good time, November 21, 1844. But the necessary preparations for operation of a boarding school were not completed until the fall of 1845, so that for a term beginning in mid-December, 1844, and extending to July 14, 1845, the new school building was used to teach a neighborhood school. During this period "about 50 different scholars," with an average attendance of "less than 40" were instructed in reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, botany, and music. According to Byington, Miss Hall and Miss Keyes were good teachers, a judgment reinforced by the fact that the public examination, held on July 14, 1845, made a "happy impression on the minds of the friends who were present." Preparations for accommodation of the contract scholars, including the fencing and opening to cultivation of a small farm of twenty-five acres by Mr. Winship, were advanced enough by October 1, 1845, to begin the first full term as a contract boarding school.

Mr. Byington reported in his annual letter to the Agent, September 3, 1846, that twenty-four girls had been "received, boarded, and taught" under the contract during the previous term. He estimated that the yearly cost for each of these--"board, books, &c., and medicines"--at $50 for a total of $1200; the sum of $450 had been used for the salaries of the steward, his wife, and the teachers. He calculated that an additional $270 had been expended for board for the staff, repairs, losses, and all other expenses to bring the total cost to $1,920 for the year. However, in addition to the twenty-four "beneficiaries" who were boarded, forty additional pupils had also received instruction during the year to bring the total enrollment to sixty-four. When the term ended on July 21, 1846, enough of these "day scholars," including seventeen boys, were still attending to make an enrollment of fifty-seven. Apparently some of the neighborhood scholars failed to return to classes after a spring break from April 6 through 20, older boys in particular being kept at home to help with spring planting and other chores. It is not clear from Byington's letter as to whether reference was made only to the twenty-four girls on the boarding contract or whether day scholars were included, but the range in ages of the pupils was rather extreme. Miss Hall, in "her writing report" to Superintendent Byington was quoted as saying:

> Of the girls at our home, it may be said with emphasis they are gentle, affectionate, and obedient. From the least to the greatest of them--4 years to 20 and upwards--if engaged in what they know to be wrong, in school or out of school, a look is sufficient to check them.

With the exception of botany, mentioned in 1846 for the first time, the same subjects were listed as those taught during the previous year. In addition, instruction was given in English language and grammar, natural philosophy, and sacred music. Miss Hall had the "chief care of all the pupils" during the most of their hours in the school room. At other times Miss Keyes "had the principal charge"; she taught music and "heard some of the classes read." As the school grew in numbers, Miss Emily Dwight, "a native," was employed as a student assistant; at least she was referred to as "also a member of the school." Emily was a sister of Jonathan E. Dwight, previously mentioned as a teacher at Spencer Academy and editor of The Choctaw Intelligencer at Doaksville. Miss Keyes also taught the girls to sew, knit, and perform in related areas. Her report to Byington was quite impressive. She stated that:

> . . . sixty-eight dresses were made, twenty pairs of pantaloons, and thirteen comfortables; two quilts were pieced, mostly by the smaller girls, and one of them has been quilted by the larger ones. The number of pieces that were begun and finished, within the year, is 230. Sixteen of the boarders only were large enough to render much assistance . . . . Several have been taught to knit, four to knit lace, and one to knit ladies' caps.

Mrs. Winship, wife of the steward and aided by her husband, had charge of "boarding them all." She also supervised the girls as they attended to "domestic labors," divided into groups of six who took turns doing the household chores. They took care of "their own apartments," did washing and ironing for themselves and the school, and helped in the dining room and kitchen. One variation from the schedule followed in the other seminaries was the practice of giving the "children food four times in each day." The extra meal was a "luncheon or snack [sic]" in the morning "between breakfast and dinner." Mr. Winship, as the handy man, stayed busy, for he had the care of the farm, the buildings, the eleven cows, the "few swine" and, as Byington put it, "other labors" such as assisting his wife in the kitchen.

It will be recalled that Byington was probably the premier scholar among the veterans of the Choctaw Mission, not only because of his work as a translator of the Bible into Choctaw but also because of his monumental efforts in the preparation of a Choctaw grammar and a dictionary. Therefore his thoughts on the linguistic problems daily encountered in the Choctaw boarding schools deserve more than ordinary consideration. The girls at Ianubbee Seminary, according to Miss Hall, had made such "astonishing" progress in English that toward the close of the 1845-1846 term Choctaw was "seldom spoken, almost never, unless the occasion [called] for it." Presumably, as at all the schools, pressure was placed on the girls to converse only in English. Byington mentioned the policy more than once in his communications. For an example, in 1848 he stated:

> The scholars are required to speak the English language entirely, even among themselves; and it is seldom that a Choctaw word is spoken by

> them, except when their friends come and make a visit.

Byington was thus in charge of an institution grappling with the problem of making its students proficient bilinguals and at the same time was engaged in converting the Choctaw tongue into a written language. Was he working at cross-purposes? In 1846 he observed:

> In regard to many of the Choctaws, we have found our books in their language very useful in giving them, in a way easy to them, many useful ideas. We find it the easiest, and cheapest, and most effectual way to give the genuine *Choctaws* [Byington's stress] useful knowledge, to employ their mother tongue. For many others [mixed bloods?], the English is altogether the best; but to those who have no opportunity to learn English we must present truth in a language they can hear, and which they love.

Undoubtedly one reason for the popularity of Sunday schools among the Choctaws was the fact that they were conducted in the native tongue and employed books printed in Choctaw, the Bible and other publications previously listed, for reading and study.

No full report was available for the school year ending in July, 1847, but a detailed account was written for the following term which ended with a public examination on June 30, 1848. The number of contract students had been increased to thirty, although the average number "boarded at the Seminary" was given as "about 40." Total enrollment was fifty, and the average attendance was thirty-five. Of the twenty day scholars, several were probably boys; no mention was made here, but nine males were listed for the previous year. The same staff which had opened the Seminary was still in charge. The division of responsibility between Miss Keyes, "teacher in the seminary," and Miss Hall, "supervisor of the girls, &c., when out of school," was more clearly defined. Incidentally, for whatever reasons, Mrs. Byington, unlike the wives at most of the boarding schools, was not completely involved in the operation of the Ianubbee. The Byingtons maintained a home at the Stockbridge mission station, a "few minutes walk, only, from the seminary," but if any girls were cared for at the Byington home, no mention was made of it.

With a few exceptions, the course of study for the term was about the same as before. Four of the girls studied "Botany for Children," a subject not listed since 1844; five studied the "Illustrated Definer"; thirteen had read "Miss Swift's Philosophy for Children"; and seventeen had perused "The Little Philosopher." Of the students generally, Byington noted that they varied "much in their ages and complexion," since many were children of "white men by Choctaw mothers." The 1848 report explained the need for the mid-morning snack previously mentioned. The school day for the girls lasted five hours, from 8:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., and some sort of morning break was imperative because of the late dinner hour. "For many months," Byington reported, another school period was held each day for "one hour or more after supper." Besides the sewing, knitting, needle work, and customary household chores, the girls were taught "to make butter, soap, candles, &c," and "some attention" was paid "to making cheese, and a carpet."

Either the Ianubbee reports were more detailed and informative than those from her sister seminaries or it came closer to self-sufficiency than any of the others. In 1848 Mr. Winship's farm, by this time "nearly 40 acres," included an acre of kitchen garden, 18 acres in corn, 10 in oats, 6 in wheat, 3 in rye, and 3 in potatoes. In addition a peach orchard had been planted, along with "a few apple trees," and about "30 acres of the 'woods' enclosed for pasturage." The livestock at this time consisted of two yoke of oxen, one team of horses, three milch cows, eighteen head of "neat cattle," and seventy-five head of swine. Material improvements recently completed or under way in the summer of 1848 included a "good paling" around the garden plot; a "substantial paling" to enclose the school yard, which measured 100 by 200 feet; a log barn, 30 by 20 feet; a "hewed log cabin," 20 by 18 feet; and a frame house "for the use of teachers and scholars," 36 x 18 feet.

By the close of its fourth year, July 24, 1849, Ianubbee was firmly established as a successful unit in the Choctaw system of boarding schools. In his letter to Agent John Drennen on September 26, 1849, shorter and less detailed than in previous years, Byington reported the loss by resignation, no reasons given, of his two teachers, Miss Hall and Miss Keyes. Miss Hall had been replaced on May 1, 1849, by Miss E. Hough; Miss Keyes had "requested a release from her labors" and a Mrs. Lathrop, "formerly a member of the mission," was expected to arrive soon as her replacement. Because of flooding streams and high water generally, the trustees had been unable to attend the public examination in July, but an ad hoc examining committee had forwarded a written report to the Choctaw trustees for their information. When the 1849 letter was written, Byington must have been preparing to go north, since the meeting of the Choctaw Mission some ten days previously had granted him "permission to take his son Cyrus to Marietta O. to attend school." This fact, plus his concern at the loss of two experienced teachers, may have accounted for the brevity of his letter. But he did find time to summarize briefly the progress of Ianubbee Seminary since its inception, writing:

> We had under our care and instruction, during the four years the boarding school has been in operation, about fifty beneficiaries [his term for

> contract scholars_7, and about forty neighborhood scholars have received instruction. The pupils have enjoyed a good degree of health; but one has died while with us. She died last winter. We feel that we have a great and good work to perform in the education of so many daughters of this people, who, if they live, may do great good to their nation in coming years.

By 1850, then, the three female seminaries assigned to the American Board by the Act of 1842, were thriving. They continued to educate Choctaw girls for another decade, with few variations in program, staff, or number of scholars. Except for Koonsha, as will be discussed later, they remained under the same leadership.

Some items of special interest, gleaned from various reports concerning the three schools during the 1850s, should suffice for our purpose here. In 1851, Superintendent Kingsbury stated that, at Chuwahla, "We have no female black help; all the washing, cooking, and other labors of the family are performed by the Choctaw girls and ladies of the mission." This did not mean that no slave labor was used by this Seminary, however; for example in 1857 "a black man and wife, hired slaves," were employed at the cost of $22 monthly.

The girls did a great deal of practical sewing, but very little "fancy work," since, Kingsbury noted, "we regard this . . . as of very little consequence." Not only did the girls make and mend their own clothing, but also sewed for hire. During the 1851-1852 term, supervised by Miss Hannah Bennett, the girls produced ten dresses for "ladies in the neighborhood," and a good deal of "men's wear: specifically, thirteen coats, seven vests, thirty-eight pair of pantaloons, thirty-seven shirts, and four roundabouts." In addition, they had knitted "upwards of 30 pairs of socks and stockings." Presumably, most of the men's clothing was made for the boys at Spencer Academy. At least, Kingsbury stated in 1855 that during the previous year the Chuwahla girls had made a "large amount of clothing for the scholars at Spencer Academy, and for families in the neighborhood." One afternoon every two weeks was spent on this commercial sewing, which cleared some forty or fifty dollars a term. The profits were not used by the girls for themselves or even to buy anything for the Seminary, but was "applied to some object of benevolence" such as books and supplies needed by neighborhood or Sunday schools in Pushmataha District.

Kingsbury's 1857 report to Agent Douglas H. Cooper listed by name a Seminary staff of seven, along with the age, home state, and salary of each one:

Name	Position	Age	Birth	Annual Salary
Cyrus Kingsbury	Superintendent	71	New Hampshire	$150
Mrs. Kingsbury	---	75	Massachusetts	100
Miss P. G. Child	Teacher	47	New Hampshire	100
Miss Elizabeth Dwight	Girls "out of school"	30	Choctaw	100
James Dyer	Mechanic	22	Choctaw	[75¢ per day]
"Joilliston [sic]"	Common Laborer	18	Choctaw	[$12 per mo.]

Unnamed were "a black man and wife, hired slaves," at $22 per month. Concerning Mrs. Kingsbury, the superintendent reported in 1858 that although in her seventy-fifth year and feeble, she had been "able to superintend the dining room and kitchen departments." Miss Dwight, replacement for Miss Hannah Bennett, was "a full Choctaw and sister of Mr. J. E. Dwight."

The 1857 report also gave a breakdown on the actual attendance of the thirty-five girls, aged seven to fifteen, enrolled during the year. Twelve had been present the full nine months, sixteen for eight months, twenty-one for seven, on down to one girl for one month. Kingsbury explained that some had been "detained a part of the term at home by sickness." The final examination held on June 30, 1858, was attended by approximately one hundred "neighbors and friends," including the district trustee and the "attorney general of the nation." All, "according to custom, were provided with a plain dinner." The Superintendent remarked that he "heard no complaint, either as to the school or the entertainment."

In the meantime, Superintendent Hotchkin and Koonsha Seminary did not enjoy such a calm experience. Until 1853, however, Koonsha prospered as the superintendent dreamed of developing the school into a model for the education of girls. The fine arts were stressed. For example, Hotchkin's 1851 report stated that some of the "more advanced" scholars had worked at "drawing and painting . . . worsted-work and wax-work." The resulting works of art were sold at the time of the annual examination, and the $65.71 thus obtained was sent to the American Board headquarters in Boston "as a donation from this school to spread the gospel." Proceeds from such sales the following year totaled $119, of which $100 was sent to Boston and nineteen dollars reserved to pay for materials used. So pleased was Hotchkin with the program at Koonsha by 1852 that he was moved to write: "It would now be no very difficult work to carry most of this school through the course of study adopted at Mount Holyoke, or any other similar institution" for the education of young women in the United States. He was further pleased that "several--say twenty-two--of the largest and more advanced" girls were anxious to obtain an "accomplished education" in order to become teachers of their own people.

In pursuance of what might be called Hotchkin's "Mt. Holyoke dream," he persuaded the leaders of the Choctaw General Council to revise somewhat the purposes of Koonsha Seminary, beginning with the 1852-1853 term.

The primary objective became that of affording the "young ladies as good and thorough an education as can be obtained in the best seminaries" in the United States, and Superintendent Hotchkin had visited New England during the summer of 1852 to secure teachers to implement this goal. He returned with two whom he considered to be the very best, Miss Mary M. Curtis and Miss Elizabeth Backus, and he dreamed of making Koonsha a seminary with a course of study more advanced than those of the others, a finishing school where the most promising graduates of New Hope, Chuwahla, Ianubbee, and Wheelock could complete their educations. The staff at Koonsha in 1853, which Hotchkin hoped to enlarge as his project developed, included:

Name	Position	Birth	Age
Ebenezer Hotchkin	Superintendent	Massachusetts	50
(Mrs.) Philena Thatcher Hotchkin	---	Massachusetts	50
Miss Mary M. Curtis	Teacher	Massachusetts	31
Miss Elizabeth Backus	Teacher	Connecticut	40
Miss Catharine Fay	(Girls out of school)	Ohio	31
Miss M. H. Hotchkin	---	Choctaw Nation	21
John J. Hotchkin	---	Massachusetts	27

But Hotchkin's dreams for Koonsha Seminary were not to materialize. In fact, they were blasted in the autumn of 1853 when the school was suspended for reasons not made completely clear from available sources. The minutes of the Choctaw Mission, meeting at Pine Ridge on November 11, 1853, shed some light through the following resolution:

> Resolved. That although we are fully satisfied of the falsity of all the reports concerning Brother Hatchkins [sic], yet under the peculiar circumstances of the case, we recommend him to resign the superintendency of the Seminary at Good Water.

The Mission requested that Hotchkin remain at the station as evangelist, but he refused. The Mission then supported him in the establishment of a new station, some miles to the west of Good Water, which Hotchkin called "Living Land." By 1857, if his annual report from Living Land can be trusted, Hotchkin had recovered his old ebullience, was serving churches at Mayhew and Chishoktak as well as at Living Land, and was supervising two neighborhood schools with enrollments of twenty and thirty respectively. He remained in the Choctaw Nation as an active minister throughout the Civil War and died, aged sixty-four, while on a visit to Lenox, Massachusetts, October 28, 1867. His wife, Philena Thatcher Hotchkin, survived him by less than a month.

In the meantime, the American Board relinquished all control of Koonsha Seminary, which remained closed until the fall of 1855. By that time arrangements had been made by the Choctaw Nation for the school to be re-opened under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Rev. Edward Ells wrote to Agent Douglas H. Cooper on August 15, 1855, that he had arrived at Good Water on June 28 and expected to re-open the school on the first Wednesday in October. With Ells were his family and three teachers. Explanatory records were not discovered to explain why, but in the first three years, 1855-1858, of Presbyterian management, Koonsha had three superintendents. Ells was succeeded by "Rev. H. Balentine," probably at the close of the 1855-1856 term. Balentine and his family left the mission on May 11, 1858. His successor, George Ainslie, reported on August 30 that Balentine's departure "was deeply regretted by all, as his long experience and superior abilities rendered him eminently qualified for the important post he occupied." But no reason was advanced for his leaving Koonsha. Ainslie served as superintendent until the Seminary was closed permanently in 1861, when he and others of the staff joined the John Edwards party and returned to the North.

During its years of control, 1855-1861, the Presbyterian Board was somewhat more liberal in its support of Koonsha Seminary than the American Board had been. The Choctaw Council continued the $3,000 annual appropriation; but during the 1855-1856 term, after the school had been closed for almost two years and repairs and renovation of the buildings had to be made, the Presbyterian contribution was $3,685, nearly four times the thousand dollars annual requirement under the contract. By the close of the third year of Presbyterian control of Koonsha Seminary, the expenditures by the Board were $5,950 as compared with the $9,000 received from the Choctaw Nation during the same period. The enrollment continued about the same, but Ebenezer Hotchkin's dream of an elite school was reduced to the goal of furnishing the girls a basic practical education.

The aim of educating teachers for the Choctaw neighborhood schools continued, however. In his last official report, July 2, 1860--no report was made for the term ending in the summer of 1861 because of his hasty departure for the North--Superintendent Ainslie remarked that he and the staff were encouraged in their work by knowing that several graduates had become successful teachers and that some just finishing were "well qualified to take charge of neighborhood schools." This same report listed the Koonsha personnel as:

Superintendence: Rev. Geo. Ainslie, Mrs. Ainslie
Teaching: Miss J. Hitchcock, Miss E. Diament
Miss Sue McBeth, Mrs. T. Jones
Farming and stewardship: Mr. T. Jones
Housekeeping: Mrs. J. Davidson

Miss Sue McBeth left a diary of her one year at Koonsha, April, 1860, to June, 1861. A graduate of Steubenville Female Seminary in Ohio, she was placed in charge of thirty of the more advanced girls as their school teacher and also supervised them during weekday prayer meetings and Sunday schools. An unusual activity of Miss McBeth's was the sending of a monthly "Meteorological Observation" to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. Her report for July, 1860, listed the average temperatures for four daily readings and stated that on many days the temperature stood at 110° at three in the afternoon. This segment of the McBeth diary included an account of the departure of the Koonsha missionaries in June, 1861, after Superintendent Ainslie was ordered to leave by a vigilante committee of Southern sympathizers.

An important development at Ianubbee Female Seminary in the early 1850s was the resignation of Cyrus Byington as superintendent. The 1851 annual report to the Choctaw Agent, William Wilson, was made for Byington in September by Alfred Wright. Byington, it seemed, was "absent for the benefit of his health" in the North, presumably New York City. There, as his strength permitted, he supervised the "printing in Choctaw" of:

1. A new edition of the Choctaw Hymnbook, containing more than thirty "new hymns."
2. The books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I Samuel, and II Samuel
3. An abridgment of "Gallaudet's sacred biography," through the life of Moses
4. A "Choctaw Definer."

Just who was in charge at Ianubbee during Byington's absence is not clear. Wright reported the staff as including:

Miss E. J. Hough, teacher
Mrs. L. E. Lathrop, girls out of school

D. H. Winship, steward and farmer
Mrs. Winship, dining room and kitchen
"Mr. Beal, assistant laborer"

Probably Mr. Winship, the steward, held the place together during this period. Mr. Wright reported the enrollment as thirty-four, with thirty "on the appropriation." Most of these, he added, were "full Choctaws, . . . entirely ignorant of the English language," quite young--aged six to eight years--and enrolled for their first terms at Ianubbee.

No official report for 1852 was found, but the official minutes of the Choctaw Mission of the American Board noted that "Rev. C. Byington requested to be released from the superintendency of Iyanubi Fem. Sem'ry at the close of the year, 1852." The following entry in the minutes was a resolution granting Byington's request and authorizing the appointment of "Mr. J/ason/ D. Chamberlain . . . Supt. in his place, of Iyunubi Fem. Sem'ry from Jan. 1, 1853." Superintendent Chamberlain's first report, June 30, 1853, was not very informative, but it did note that in "consequence of failure in securing a teacher" the term did not begin until January 26, 1853, and ended June 22. During this five months the enrollment totaled forty-one, of whom ten were "day scholars." No unusual developments occurred during the next year or two. In 1855 Byington, who had remained at Eagle Town as an "evangelist," wrote Agent Douglas Cooper that Ianubbee had "prospered and is useful." Chamberlain himself proudly stated that at the close of the 1854-1855 term, "Nearly every girl carried home with her, as her own, a bed-quilt, that others might see what skill and industry can do for the comfort of every family." Chamberlain also had "dispensed with the cultivation of our fields," since he could buy corn and other foodstuffs more cheaply than he could raise it. "All labor not performed by us, has been done by the Choctaws," he added, some working by the day, others on contract. This policy he judged to have been quite successful.

Chamberlain's annual reports during the late 1850s were quite brief and he never acceded to Agent Cooper's request for a list of the staff at Ianubbee giving their respective ages and state in which each was born. Possibly Chamberlain leaned, or was considered to do so by Agent Cooper and the slave-holding Choctaw mixed bloods, too much toward abolitionism. The 1860 report for Ianubbee, in any case, was not made by Chamberlain but by Joseph Dukes, trustee for the Apukshunnubbee District. Dukes noted that: J. D. Chamberlain had been the superintendent; Mrs. Chamberlain had been in "charge of the dining hall"; Miss Gaston had served as the teacher; and Miss Dada had been in "charge of girls out of schools." Then he wrote, almost as an afterthought, "This school closed on the 1st of May, and the superintendent /‾was_7 dismissed from further service," without giving any explanation for the dismissal.

On September 10, 1860, Byington informed Agent Cooper that "The female boarding school is now unoccupied by a superintendent and teachers." Noting that Mr. Chamberlain, the "late" superintendent, had departed in May, Byington said, "We are expecting another one, with teachers, will arrive." He further commented that all other employees were absent, that the trustees had "placed the buildings and other property under the charge of a native Choctaw," and that there was no food of any kind on hand for the beginning of another school year. Available information is sketchy as to the final year of existence for Ianubbee Seminary, but it is known that the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, successor to the American Board as sponsor of the Choctaw Mission, appointed Rev. H. A. Wentz as superintendent for the 1860-1861 term. Wentz, a bachelor, had been a teacher at Spencer Academy before the appointment to Ianubbee. His stay at Eagle Town was short, because certain of his activities convinced the Choctaw and Texas fire-eaters that his heart was with the North. A vigilante committee with a rope sought to hang him soon after he was discharged from Ianubbee in the late winter or early spring of 1861. Presumably he escaped, as did John Edwards and others, to his home in New York.

Thus ended the existence, forever, of the three female seminaries with Choctaw titles, Chuwahla, Koonsha, and Ianubbee. Their final two years, 1859-1861, were hectic. On July 16, 1859, the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions severed its connection with its Choctaw Mission. Most of the missionaries, however, hoped to continue their work among the Choctaws and sought other sponsorship. The Choctaw General Council enacted a law in the fall of 1859 by which individual contracts were made with the superintendents at Chuwahla, Wheelock, and Ianubbee--Koonsha had come under Presbyterian control in 1855--to continue managing the Seminaries while overtures were being made to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to assume their management. The 1859 law included appropriations by the Council to replace funds previously furnished each school by the American Board. The Presbyterian Board accepted responsibility for the Choctaw Mission, notifying the missionaries of the decision in a letter of January 10, 1860.

But it was too late. By the summer of 1861 the Presbyterian Church had split, just as the Methodists had in 1845, and the missionaries were compelled to choose between sectional churches. Those who went north remained with the mother church. Those who stayed in the Choctaw Nation were considered as sympathetic with the Confederacy and became missionaries for the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States, later to become the "Presbyterian Church in the United States." As a rule the older missionaries, Kingsbury, Byington, Hotchkin and some others, remained with the Choctaws. The boarding schools were closed, but the missionaries attempted to keep neighborhood schools in operation wherever possible. Cyrus Kingsbury was the key figure in keeping the work alive during the war and afterward, until his death in 1870 at Boggy Depot. But by that time Chuwahla, Koonsha, and Ianubbee were but memories, soon to be forgotten. For that matter, so were the mission stations to which they had been attached--Kingsbury's Pine Ridge, Hotchkin's Good Water, and Byington's Stockbridge at Eagle Town. They ceased to be a part of the effort to confer the blessings of "civilization" upon the daughters of the Choctaw Nation.

X

ARMSTRONG ACADEMY

It will be recalled that the Public School Act of 1842 established two academies for boys, Spencer and Fort Coffee, and that the establishment of a third academy on the Kiamichi River near the council house at Nanih Waya was blocked because of objections to its location. It seems, however, that the Council actually had set aside $4,200 for the Nanih Waya Academy, an amount which remained in limbo until the Council reappropriated the money at its annual session in October, 1843. It was used for two different educational projects. One act provided for the establishment of "the Armstrong Academy in Pushimataha District," its annual support to be "twenty-nine hundred dollars out of the four thousand and two hundred dollars." The law does not mention the origin of the $4,200, but Agent William Armstrong made it clear to the Commissioner in October, 1844, that the $4,200 had been intended originally for "Nannawaiya" academy. The $1,300 remaining after the appropriation for Armstrong was used for fourteen neighborhood and Sabbath schools in Apukshunnubbee District. Most of these were weekend schools which received $50 annually. Norwalk Academy, not to become a contract boarding school until 1846, and a school in "John Robinson's neighborhood to be conducted by the Methodist Missionary Board" were each allotted three hundred dollars. The committee designated to locate the school near John Robinson's included Peter P. Pitchlynn, Forbis Leflore, Basil LeFlore, and "Rev. Mr. Steel." Another law provided that, because of this special school appropriation for Apukshunnubbee District, the number of students assigned to Armstrong Academy from that District should be reduced.

The 1843 Act authorizing an Armstrong Academy was not implemented for another year, however. One can only speculate as to much of what transpired behind the scenes as those favoring and those opposing the "Nanih Waya" academy maneuvered to control the location and naming of the new institution. Since the 1843 law had named the institution "Armstrong," the decision to relocate it must have had the Agent's approval. His support would have been needed, certainly; and when the Council did him "the honor," as he put it, to call the institution "Armstrong Academy," it could have made the difference between his support for or opposition to the relocation.

One complicating factor for Armstrong was the appearance in the Choctaw Nation of the Rev. Wesley Browning in the spring of 1844. According to Peter P. Pitchlynn, the law as originally passed in 1842 had named a "Noniwaiya academy, (exclusively for males)" to be located near the council house on the Kiamichi River. In any case, the Methodist Mission Board believed they were obligated to establish such a school and sent Mr. Browning to the Choctaw Nation for that purpose. He received his appointment as superintendent of "Nannawaya" Academy from Bishop James O. Andrew in January, 1844, and arrived at Fort Coffee Academy on April 1, 1844. Browning immediately wrote to Major Armstrong at the nearby Choctaw Agency to inform the Agent of his arrival. He had in his possession $1,000 in drafts from the Methodist Missionary Society, the "amount agreed to be paid by the said society for the benefit of /̲'Nannawaya'̲/ academy for the first year," and requested instructions from Armstrong as to how to begin his work. In reply Armstrong wrote that the Choctaw school trustees had written him in January asking that no steps be taken toward the establishment of "Nannawaya" until after the meeting of the General Council in October, 1844.

The chief reason for delay, he said, was the location, "fifty miles from any mill or any navigable stream," which would make the costs for lumber and other supplies much greater than at the other schools. Armstrong also noted that he was not certain that the $2500 annually available for the three district schools, according to Article XX of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, which the Council desired to be used for the "Nannawaya" school, could be "thus applied" without sanction of the War Department. But since the Trustees had requested delay in locating the Academy in ignorance of the actions taken by the Methodists, he had "concluded not to interpose any obstacle" for Mr. Browning. The Agent promised that after his return from a trip to Little Rock on government business, which he estimated would consume ten or twelve days, he would escort Mr. Browning to the proposed site and furnish him with $4,000 annually from the proceeds of the "Alabama bonds." No record has been discovered to indicate that the Agent and Mr. Browning ever had such a meeting, and the latter may have departed from Fort Coffee without ever seeing Major Armstrong. On October 25, 1844, Armstrong informed T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that:

> . . . Nannawaya has been abandoned on account of objections to the location. Of $4,200 provided for its use, the council have recently directed that $2,900 shall be applied for a new institution, which it has done me the honor to call 'Armstrong Academy.' . . . .

The preceding explains to some degree the year's delay between passage of the act establishing Armstrong Academy in October, 1843, and the Act appointing a committee to select a site, passed in October, 1844. Also, the 1843 act had specified that Armstrong Academy be placed under the direction of the "American Indian /̲Mission̲7 Association," organized in 1842 by Isaac McCoy, Baptist "apostle to the Indians," with the proviso that the Association must agree to furnish "one thousand dollars annually to the support of said institution." Thus another reason for delay in the establishment of Armstrong Academy could have stemmed from difficulty in completing arrangements with the Baptist association. When arrangements were concluded, the first name listed on the committee to select a site in October, 1844, was "Rev. R. D. Potts," a Baptist missionary teacher. Others named were "Capt. Silas D. Fisher, Iacha-hopaiyi, Nicholas Cocheneur, Isaac Leflore and R. M. Jones."

Rev. Ramsay D. Potts had been a Baptist missionary among the Choctaws since 1834, his mission station and school being called Providence. It was located near the present village of Ervin, eight miles southeast of Hugo, nine miles from Fort Towson, and nine miles from the mouth of the Kiamichi River. Five miles north of Red River, the site was not far from Rose Hill, home of Robert M. Jones, school trustee for Pushmataha District and a member of the site committee. Also nearby was Horse Prairie on Red River, close to the home of Nitakechi, full-blood chief of the Pushmataha District at the time of removal and for several years thereafter. A nephew of Pushmataha, Nitakechi was an effective, respected leader of the Choctaws regardless of their degree of blood. According to Grant Foreman he was a "brave, noble-minded Indian, upright in his intercourse with every one with whom he came in contact." After being out of office for several years Nitakechi was re-elected district chief in 1844; his term was ended by his death on November 22, 1845, just a few days before Armstrong Academy began classes. Potts must have won the friendship and confidence of the old chief, an important factor in his selection to head the new school in Nitakechi's district. At least two of Nitakechi's sons, Henry Graves and George G. Gaines, had attended the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, so that Nitakechi was aware of the Baptist dedication to Choctaw education even before removal. Evidence of respect for Potts and what he stood for was later indicated when two of Nitakechi's sons, Henry Graves, named above, and "Captain Jackson" joined the Philadelphia Baptist Church not long after it was established by Potts near Armstrong Academy in 1846.

During the 1820's Potts had been sent by the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions to Thomas, a mission station for the Ottawa Indians, where he married Lucretia A. Purchase, a teacher at that place. In 1834, when the young couple were assigned to the Choctaw Nation, Potts became teacher of the Pushmataha District school at Providence, his annual salary of $833.33 being paid under terms of Article XX of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. In 1836 the school enrolled thirty pupils who were fairly regular in their attendance. Potts was ordained a Baptist minister in 1837 and immediately organized a church at his station. Records are sketchy, but at one time Providence school apparently attempted to specialize in education for girls. At least it was reported in 1839 that Miss Lucy H. Taylor taught a girls' school at Providence, which was well attended and featured a curriculum that included sewing. The school was undoubtedly coeducational most of the time, however, and no other mention of Miss Taylor was discovered.

Providence school reported an enrollment of twenty-two in 1841; two years later only twenty pupils were listed, "eleven of whom boarded with Potts." By this latter date the church membership had reached eighty-three. The twenty pupils reported for 1843 must have been the number in attendance at the close of the school term, because in another statement Potts wrote that although "39 students /_had_7 attended school during the past year /_1842-1843_7," nineteen had left previous to the vacation and did not return. He further stated to Agent Armstrong, in contrast to the eleven mentioned above:

> You will also see that twenty-three lived in my family during the year, nine of whom I have boarded gratuitously and clothed partly. For the board of the residue I am to receive $4 per month, to be paid in any kind of produce they may have to spare.

It was not surprising, therefore, to find "Rev. R. D. Potts" and R. M. Jones on the Committee to select a site for Armstrong Academy. Potts had worked several years in the District, his station was near the home of the District Trustee, and he had earned the confidence and respect of Jones and other Choctaw leaders such as Nitakechi. Potts and his wife proceeded to retire from the service of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions on December 10, 1844, which at that time gave up its work in the Choctaw Nation, and immediately were employed by Isaac McCoy's American Indian Mission Association. This organization assumed responsibility for the Baptist mission work among the Choctaws and the direction of Armstrong Academy was assigned to it by the Choctaw Council. A letter from Potts to Agent Armstrong, dated August 29, 1844, and the last one discovered bearing a Providence dateline, gave no specific information but was merely a covering letter for documents not reproduced in the Commissioner's report. Before the 1845 report was made, all necessary arrangements had been completed and Potts and the American Indian Mission Association had assumed supervision of Armstrong Academy.

For reasons undiscovered, Providence was not designated as the site for Armstrong Academy. Instead, a location was chosen more than thirty miles to the west, near a fine spring about three miles northeast of the present town of Bokchito. In 1846 Potts pinpointed the site for Major Armstrong:

> The institution is located two miles south of the road leading from Fort Towson to Fort Washita fifty-five miles west of the former and thirty miles east of the latter. It is near the dividing ridge of the waters of Boggy and Blue rivers, and twenty miles northwest of the nearest point of Red river. The country around is the best quality of upland, and will admit of a dense population.

In a letter from "Mahew, C. N., August 27, 1845," Potts made his first progress report to Agent Armstrong concerning the new academy. Mayhew, as it was customarily spelled, was the court ground for Pushmataha District near the forks of Boggy, a few miles north of the present town of Boswell and twelve miles east of the site of Armstrong Academy. It was the nearest hamlet to the Academy at the time and important enough for a post office to have been located there a few months earlier on February 5, 1845. In 1850 a post office was established at Armstrong Academy itself, with the Rev. Phillip P. Brown, principal teacher at Armstrong, as the first postmaster. Presumably, from 1845 to 1850 Mayhew served as post office for the school.

Potts told the Agent "with pleasure" that the American Indian Mission Association, with headquarters at Louisville, Kentucky, had agreed to sponsor the institution. The "necessary buildings for a commencement," he added, as well as the clearing and fencing of forty acres of land had been "contracted for last winter," the total cost to be $2,700 for the package. Because of excessive rain the forty acres, which had been planted in corn, promised to make only about half a crop. The Board at Louisville, Potts continued, had already sent clothing, bedding and other necessities to the value of almost $800 of their required $1,000; but since the buildings could not be completed until October 15, it would be November 1 before he could hope to begin classes. Actually, the opening was delayed until December 2, 1845, because of the failure of the contractor "to complete the buildings agreeably to contract."

Problems continued for Superintendent Potts even after completion of the buildings. On November 1, 1845, the Indian Mission Association had appointed a staff to assist him; but for various reasons they did not arrive until February 10, 1846, and for more than two months Potts carried the whole load almost alone. As he put it: "Previous to the arrival of this reinforcement the whole labor of the institution devolved upon me, in addition to teaching the school." Undoubtedly Mrs. Potts pitched in to help, but he made no mention to her assistance as he struggled to manage the school and the thirty-three boys who constituted the original enrollment. Thirty-five was the number of scholars expected, but two never appeared. During the latter part of the session only thirty were in attendance, some having run away or returned home in consequence of sickness.

The appearance of his helpers in February must have been one of the most welcome sights in the lives of Rev. and Mrs. Ramsay Potts. They included a teacher, Rev. P. P. Brown, and Mrs. Brown; a farmer, Mr. H. W. Jones; and Miss Tabitha Chenoweth, the latter to assist in the domestic affairs of the institution. The fact that Potts had been a teacher in the Choctaw country for several years undoubtedly made it possible for him to survive during the period of more than two months which elapsed between the opening of the school and the arrival of his staff. Otherwise, his attempts to cope with the problems of a new boarding school suddenly inhabited by more than thirty boys must have surely failed. His tasks were magnified by the fact that upon arrival twenty-two of the boys could speak no English, twenty were full bloods, and many had never been in a schoolroom before. Further, it was charged, as previously Goode and Benson had believed to be true at Fort Coffee, that the Trustees assigned a larger percentage of ignorant and uncultivated students to Armstrong Academy than to either Spencer or Norwalk. But Potts made few complaints and had the institution functioning well when Brown and the others arrived.

The 1846 report to Agent Armstrong included two letters, one from Superintendent Potts and the other from Rev. P. P. Brown, the principal teacher. Potts was pleased with the work of Brown and the others and also with the work done by the boys on the farm during the two or three hours devoted each day to manual labor. He wrote:

> Every day's experience goes to strengthen me in the belief that schools conducted upon the manual labor system are the only ones that will eventually benefit the Indians much. There is an aversion to labor on the part of many, and complaints are sometimes made that the children labor too much.

Idleness, Potts continued, in every age had "always been one of the most fruitful sources of vice," and he stressed the need to instill habits of industry into the youthful mind. The result of instilling the habits of industry at Armstrong between December 2, 1845, and July 27, 1846, were remarkable. A field of fifty acres of corn had been cultivated, ten acres of which the boys had cleared. They had also made part of the rails to fence the farm. In addition to a kitchen garden, three acres of sweet potatoes and hay and fodder for the stock had been secured partly by the students. Overall the superintendent believed that: ". . . should nothing befall it, I think we shall make a sufficiency of corn, peas, beans, pumpkins, and turnips, for our consumption." Near the close of his missive, the Superintendent reported that the public examination on July 27, 1846, had been attended by Captain Robert M. Jones, district trustee, and Colonel Silas D. Fisher, district chief. These and other influential men of Pushmataha District manifested much satisfaction, according to Potts, with what they saw and heard at the exercises.

Mr. Brown's letter dealt with academic progress during the year and concluded with some interesting observations concerning Choctaw education. In regard to school progress Brown listed the following:

> 18 commenced in the alphabet,
> 4 do [ditto] two letters,
> 4 do easy reading,
> 3 do First Reader, McGuffey's,
> 2 do Second Reader, McGuffey's.
>
> All have been engaged principally in reading and spelling.
> Of those who commenced in the alphabet--
> 1 reads in the Second Reader,
> 6 read in the First Reader
> 5 read in easy reading, in Elementary Spelling Book;
> 4 have just commenced easy reading,
> 2 do do words of two and three letters.
>
> Of those commencing in two letters--
> 1 reads in the Second Reader,
> 1 do First Reader,
> 2 read in easy reading.
>
> Those commencing in easy reading read in First Reader.
> Do [sic] in First Reader read in Second Reader.
> Do [sic] in Second Reader read in Third Reader and study Olney's Geography.
>
> 22 have learned to write. 19, since the first of June, have studied Emerson's First Part North American Arithmetic.

It is obvious from Brown's statement that, when he began their instruction in February, only two of the thirty-one boys examined on July 27 were reading English at the second grade level. Incidentally, this is the first mention that McGuffey Readers were used by any of the Choctaw boarding schools, although other schools later listed McGuffey among their texts.

Brown made some sensible observations in connection with the report just quoted. He remarked that varying degrees of progress were often indicated by noting the "turning over [̲of̲] leaves and passing through books," but concluded that this was not the correct method for determining the progress of scholars, "especially among the Indians." Some students, he wrote, were:

> . . . frequently pushed through a book at locomotive speed, as if knowledge were measured only by the number of pages passed over, and the advance of learning calculated by the rapidity with which books are turned off. They receive the praises of doating [_sic_] parents, and the flatteries of admiring friends, as prodigies of learning, when really their actual advance in knowledge is quite limited.

By contrast, Brown continued, students with searching minds thumbed but a few pages and by plodding perseverance laid the foundation for a rich store of knowledge. This latter group, in his opinion, actually advanced more in true knowledge than did the page turners.

Brown believed that Indian schools in particular strongly proved his point, when he compared the advancement made by untutored full bloods with that of mixed bloods who came from homes where English was spoken. "Can, then," he asked, "the actual relative improvement of the two be estimated by the number of leaves each has studied?" Modern pedagogs will not reject Mr. Brown's conclusion that the answer to his rhetorical question should be a resounding "No!" He also struggled with the problem of ensuring the maximum use of English as the daily language of his students. His approach to this differed from that used in the other schools and was more realistic. Believing that a positive rule forbidding the use of Choctaw would "encourage trickery, and foster a deceitful disposition," Brown constantly worked to persuade his boys of the advantages to be derived from avoiding the use of their native tongue, thereby expediting their acquisition of English and a formal education. Somewhat optimistically, after writing that "success had crowned our efforts," he gave this explanation:

> Some have advanced very slowly, and with great difficulty, but with unyielding perseverance; and so great has been their desire to learn the English, and bring the Choctaw into disuse, that they prefer to remain silent when their knowledge of English was too limited to express themselves intelligibly, rather than use Choctaw. And not only has the English language become the means of intercourse between teacher and pupil, but also between the pupils themselves; not only in school, but in the field, on the play ground, and in their rooms.

One can only wish that some other source of information was available, preferably reactions from the students themselves, to bolster Mr. Brown's conclusions.

A formal report for 1847 was not discovered, but apparently an unidentified epidemic caused the school to close for a period of time during the 1846-1847 term. No deaths occurred at Armstrong, although several boys died at Spencer Academy during the same period. A heavy storm struck Armstrong Academy on May 8, 1847, according to a Choctaw correspondent for the Northern Standard, weekly newspaper at Clarksville, Texas. A hail storm, not a tornado, broke more than sixty panes of glass in the main building and did other damage, especially to the roof. Miraculously, no one was killed or injured, but hail stones were reported of unbelievable size:

> . . . varying . . . from ordinary hail to masses of ice, as a large quart cup. One of them measured

> by the Rev. R. D. Potts . . . was found to be six inches in length, and about four inches in diameter.

A more complete report for the year ending June 30, 1848, found Mr. Potts in an optimistic frame of mind as he looked back on a successful term. In his opinion, all the students spoke English at all times, even though most had known only Choctaw when they first arrived three years previously. "Thus," he wrote, "has one great difficulty been overcome . . . ." He also reported, without elaboration, an exchange of students between Pushmataha and Mushulatubbee districts, noting that time alone would tell whether any advantage had accrued to either district. On January first the enrollment of contract students supported by the Choctaw Nation had been increased to forty-five from the original thirty-five. To these were added five boys, three supported by individuals in Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and two by Potts himself, to bring the total number of boarding scholars to fifty. The manual labor of these young men, Potts stated, had been largely responsible for fine crops of corn on fifty acres and of potatoes and other vegetables on an additional eight acres. In addition, twenty acres of winter wheat had "made a sufficiency for our own consumption." In fact, he believed that there would be an abundance of food staples for the coming term, including "nearly pork enough."

At the close of three years, Potts was of the opinion that, "In the acquisition of knowledge the students have, in a general way, come up to our highest expectations." He remarked that the Academy had been concerned with the improvement of "every grade of intellect . . . from the brightest to the dullest," and that to expect equal progress from all was impossible. In order to cope with the problems posed by the various levels of learning, the boys had been divided into eight classes. The eighth class, a few boys who had only begun to receive instruction on January 1, 1848, concerned itself primarily with learning the alphabet. The seventh class began spelling and the study of "mental arithmetic"; the sixth added "easy reading"; the fifth added writing; the fourth added geography and Emerson's Arithmetic, first part; the third class progressed to Emerson's Arithmetic, second part, while continuing the other subjects; and the second class studied Emerson, third part. The first class, top scholars in the school, added grammar and algebra to their studies. Mr. Potts gave no breakdown as to the number in each class and specified no texts except Emerson's Arithmetic. But a comparison with the subjects listed as taught during the first year indicates that Potts was not exaggerating when he remarked that the "progress of the boys has been as great as we could expect from their imperfect knowledge of the English language."

In his 1849 report to Agent John Drennen, Mr. Potts listed the number of boys studying each subject, which furnished a better picture of the general progress. He wrote:

> The studies pursued have been as follows: algebra, 5; Emerson's third part arithmetic, 11; do. second part, 25; do first part, 18; geography, 22; reading, McGuffie's fourth reader, 5; do. third reader, 30; do. second reader, 7; do. first reader, 17; Webster's spelling-book, 4; writing, 54. The whole school attended to spelling.

The total number of students in that year was fifty-nine. Of this number, fifty-three were boarders: forty-five contract students, six supported by societies and individuals in the United States, and two supported by their parents. In another 1849 report made to the Choctaw General Council, Potts revealed that he himself clothed two of the six boys supported by societies and individuals in Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Kentucky.

The total contribution from these sources was one hundred and thirty-five dollars. Improvement made by the students, Potts stated, had equalled his most sanguine expectations, and at the July 24 examination general satisfaction was given to Thompson McKinney, trustee, and the large company in attendance. As an interesting sidelight, Potts recommended two boys to the trustees as qualified "for the common business transactions of life" but also reported four as incompetent in this area.

During the year the boys had worked sixty acres of corn, twenty acres of wheat and oats, and four acres of vegetables. Although the crops were not doing as well as usual because of excessive rains, Potts hoped that the harvest would be sufficient for the next year's subsistence. Unless some misfortune befell "our hogs," he expected to kill several thousand pounds of pork when the weather permitted. Total income for the year just ended, received or due from all sources, mostly in cash with some goods, had totaled $4377.06. In spite of the fact that he had "in all things tryed to practice the strictest economy," Potts reported expenditures of $4439.86 and a small deficit of $62.80. He suggested in his letter to the General Council that one way to ease the financial burden for the Academy would be to require that parents clothe their own children; he then proposed that the Council pass a law to that effect. A considerable amount would thus be saved, Potts believed, which could be applied to the education of additional children who otherwise would receive no formal education. If such a law was ever passed, it was not ascertained by the writer; and in the 1852 and 1853 reports--none were available for 1850 and 1851--Potts stated that forty-seven and forty-six students respectively were still being clothed by the institution.

In the four years between 1849 and 1853 changes occurred which led to the end of Baptist management of Armstrong Academy. In his 1852 report to William Wilson, former teacher at both the Choctaw Agency and Spencer Academy who had just been appointed Choctaw Agent, Potts mentioned that Mr. Brown, his principal teacher, had left the school during the spring of 1851 for unexplained reasons. Brown apparently had moved to "Shurtleff College, Upper Alton, Illinois." A letter dated April 5, 1851, from N. N. Wood, president of Shurtleff College, to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, noted that "Mr. Brown, a teacher in Armstrong Academy," had requested transfer of an Indian youth to be educated by Government funds at the college. Wood noted further that: ". . . Mr. Brown is appointed a tutor in this college, & deems it important for the youth that he should accompany him & finish his education here." If Superintendent Potts knew of Brown's plans, he failed to mention it. Potts, his wife, Miss Mary R. Davis, who had recently joined the staff, and Miss Chenoweth, of the original group of assistants were able to complete the 1850-1851 term satisfactorily, however. At least this was the report of the Choctaw Intelligencer, the Doaksville weekly which had succeeded the Choctaw Telegraph. According to the newspaper account the examination at Armstrong on July 10, 1851, supervised by "Rev. R. D. Potts, superintender [sic] and teacher," and assisted by Miss Davis, had given general satisfaction to the parents, trustees, and friends who were privileged to attend.

The replacements for the Browns, Rev. Andrew G. Moffat and his wife Eliza, former residents of Mississippi, arrived in November, 1851, to free Mr. Potts from the teaching responsibility which he had assumed upon Brown's departure. The ensuing school term was rated a success by Potts in his annual report. Perhaps because of Moffat's influence, three new subjects were taught; namely, plane and solid geometry, United States history, and declamation, while proficiency in business skills continued to be stressed. Superintendent Potts announced at the annual examination on July 9, 1852, that nine boys had qualified "for the common business transactions of life." Perhaps he was feeling the same pressure that had led to complaints before removal that graduates from the schools of the American Board hadn't learned enough to "keep books for a grog shop." For whatever reason, Potts was cool toward classical subjects in the school curriculum and stated that he considered proficiency in business subjects to be "as far as the schools in the nation should go." In addition he observed that although a great need existed for formal instruction in agriculture, he could see no way to finance the purchase of the necessary tools and equipment. The personnel for the year had included Rev. and Mrs. Potts, the Moffats, Miss Davis and Miss Chenoweth. Others who served at Armstrong during the final years of Baptist supervision included Miss Mary Jane Glasgo and two native assistants, Henry Graves, a son of Nitakechi, and Samuel Worcester, a Choctaw named for the great missionary to the Cherokees.

The last report made by Potts bore the date August 15, 1853. Except for Miss Davis, the same staff had continued in service, and philosophy, despite his earlier remarks concerning practical instruction, was reported by Potts as being taught for the first time to advanced students. In an expansive mood he wrote that the capacity of Indian students to receive instruction was equal to that of the whites and that his Choctaw boys during the year had exhibited commendable improvement in every branch studied. But before the close of the next term, on March 12, 1854, Potts resigned as superintendent of the Academy and left the Choctaw Nation.

As a result, the 1854 statement of the work at Armstrong Academy was made on September 5 by "A. G. Moffat, Teacher," rather than by Superintendent Potts. Moffat informed Douglas H. Cooper, recently appointed by President Franklin Pierce as agent to the Choctaws, that Potts had "retired last March" and moved to Clarksville, Texas. The Board of the Indian Mission Association had then sent the Rev. A. S. Dennison to replace Ramsay Potts as superintendent of the Academy. Mr. and Mrs. Dennison did arrive the week after the departure of Potts, Moffat wrote, but Dennison's health failed and he had "retired on the 15th of August." So that the staff for the following year consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Moffat, as teachers, and Miss Chenoweth, who attended to the sewing department. The latter surely had other duties, although the care of the boys' clothing was undoubtedly a large responsibility. The number of students remained about the same. Moffat reported forty-six boarders and five day scholars in 1854 and forty-three and four respectively in 1855. Moffat was promoted to superintendent, but since the mission family consisted, as he put it, only of "myself, wife, and Miss Tabitha Chenoweth," the title meant little. He wrote of the 1854-1855 term that, "I acted the part of superintendent, principal, teacher, and farmer."

The Academy was in trouble financially when Potts departed in 1854. One factor in the decision of Potts to resign was the discontinuance of the annual payment of $833.33 which derived from Article XX of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Potts had received this sum yearly, beginning in 1834 at Providence and it had been continued as partial support for Armstrong Academy when Potts became superintendent there. In December, 1852, he wrote Agent William Wilson to complain that no funds had arrived for payment of teachers under provisions of the 20th Article of the Treaty of 1830. He understood that the time for these payments expired after twenty years, but stated that his original appointment as district teacher was on November 14, 1834, and that the twenty-year period therefore should not end until November, 1854. The Department had decided that July 1, 1852, was the terminal date, however, and discontinued the payments from the district school fund not only to Armstrong, but also to Spencer and Norwalk academies, the two other schools aided by the Article XX money. The Commissioner suggested that the three schools involved be reimbursed by appropriations of the Choctaw General Council from other funds. This was never done, although as late as May 15, 1855, Agent Cooper was still requesting, without success, that $5,000 be allowed to pay the three schools the amounts due them from the district school fund.

It is also true that failure of the sponsoring American Indian Mission Association to supply funds according to agreement with the Choctaw Council intensified the financial problems of the Academy. One estimate in 1854 was that the Association was at least $2,000, or two years, behind schedule in its support of the Academy. When the default of the Association is added to the loss of the $833.33 annually, the feeling of "much distress," as one of his supporters described it, which caused Potts to leave is understandable. The Association was the creature of Isaac McCoy. But McCoy had died in 1846 and it seems proper to conclude that the Association began to die at the same time; by 1855 it had ceased to exist, finally a casualty of the nationwide economic depression which marked the years 1853 through 1855. In a message from Superintendent Moffat to Cooper, August 10, 1855, the former wrote that Baptist mission affairs had been:

> . . . transferred from the American Indian Mission Association (which has become extinct) to the

> Domestic Board of the Southern Baptist Convention located at Marion, Alabama. As soon as the domestic board can arrange the transfer, it will pay off all past debts, and send a sufficient number of laborers to conduct the affairs of the institution.

Because of the lack of funds, the physical property had been allowed to deteriorate badly for several years. Moffat had stayed on in hope that the change of sponsorship would restore the situation. Many things needed to be done. All fences, farm buildings, and farm equipment were in run-down condition; buildings used for the evening school, bedrooms for the pupils and teachers, and Miss Chenoweth's house were all "very much dilapidated" and would not "turn water." It was Moffat's estimate that a minimum of $1,500 to $2,000 was needed to put the place in proper order. Rev. Joseph Walker, corresponding secretary of the Domestic Mission Board who supervised the transfer of the property of the American Indian Mission Association to the Southern Baptist Convention, sent the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from Louisville on June 23, 1855, a copy of the "deed of transfer" by which all the "mission property, contracts and liabilities" of the American Indian Mission Association were conveyed to the Southern Baptist Convention. Armstrong Academy "and other mission and school stations in the Choctaw territory" were mentioned specifically on the third page of the eight-page document. In November, 1855, Walker further reported that since 1845 the Association had received from the Choctaw Nation an "aggregate of about $26,000" for the education of Indian youths. His accuracy is in question since Armstrong Academy alone was granted $2,900 annually and he failed to mention the $833.33 received for several years of the decade from the district school fund. He did tell the Commissioner that he made no claim to accuracy, that the Association had "expended additionally from its own funds" during the decade "not less than $16,000," and that the figures covered expenditures for "educational purposes" only, while disbursements for purely evangelical purposes would be three or four times as great.

But the Domestic Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention soon decided that it could not assume the financial obligation entailed by continuing the connection with Armstrong Academy, and the Choctaw Council therefore sought another sponsor. Thus ended an important and influential phase of Baptist mission work among the Choctaws. By means of two boarding schools, the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky and Armstrong Academy in the West, the Baptist mission effort educated and influenced for good the lives of hundreds of Choctaw young men. Armstrong Academy was not discontinued, however, but continued until the outbreak of the Civil War under the management of the Board of Foreign and Domestic Missions of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

The exact date of the contract between the Choctaw Nation and the Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Foreign and Domestic Missions was February 2, 1857. This information was gleaned from a letter written by Rev. W. R. Baker, Superintendent appointed for Armstrong Academy by the Cumberland Presbyterian Board, to Agent Douglas H. Cooper in an undated letter. It would appear that Baker had taken charge before February 2, since he told Cooper that Armstrong Academy had "been received" by the Cumberland Board "since my last report." But available records do not reveal just when Superintendent Moffat left the Academy and at what date Baker arrived. No report to Agent Cooper was discovered for 1856, so that events of the school year 1855-1856 remain obscure. It is possible that during this year neither the Baptists nor the Presbyterians were in control, and it is known from reliable sources that Allen Wright, a young Choctaw who had just been graduated from Union Theological Seminary in New York City, served as principal teacher during 1855-1856. But Wright's religious affiliation was neither Baptist nor Cumberland Presbyterian and he taught at Armstrong for only the one year.

A part of the agreement with the Cumberland Presbyterian Board must have been that the Choctaw Council would furnish additional funds for construction and repair of the physical plant. In November, 1856, the Council appropriated $4,000 "for the purpose of erecting new buildings at Armstrong Academy," and Superintendent Baker's reports to Agent Cooper began to mention progress on construction of a new brick building. Before the start of the 1857-1858 term, Baker noted: "I am progressing with my new brick building finely; shall complete the same during the winter." In spite of his optimism, the building was still unfinished in August of 1858. Baker then informed Cooper that he hoped to complete the new building in the fall and that it would ". . . compare favorably with any building in the western country; it is large and commodious; the workmanship is being well executed." Presumably, it was occupied during the fall of 1858. And it was well constructed, for it served the Choctaw people until destroyed by fire in February, 1921.

Superintendent Baker's staff changed every year. The principal and assistant teacher for the 1856-1857 term were Rev. F. A. Williams and Mr. F. M. Chaney. The 1857-1858 term began with James B. Ford and Finis Pener [?] as principal and assistant, but Ford was replaced during the year by Rev. R. M. Jones. No report was available for the 1858-1859 session, but the teachers for the 1859-1860 term were Mr. J. W. Connelly and Miss A. E. Earls. The entire mission staff at Armstrong Academy was named in the 1860 report of Superintendent Baker to Agent Cooper and for some reason, probably because Cooper had requested it, more information than usual was given, including age, native state, and religious affiliation of each staff member. Strangely, the superintendent and his wife were the only members of the Cumberland Presbyterian church. He was from Tennessee, while his wife, Clara N. Baker, was a native of Missouri. Probably Mrs. Baker was a second wife, since she was only twenty-three, Baker was forty-six, and no wife was mentioned in any previous report. In listing the mission family in 1858, for example, Baker listed "myself and three children" with no mention of a wife. Also the 1858 report named a Mrs. "Laviny" Smallwood as matron; the 1860 report named Mrs. Clara N. Baker as matron and in charge of the "business of the house." A joint annual salary of $600 was reported for the superintendent and his spouse.

The principal, Mr. Connelly, aged twenty-six, was a Kentuckian of Baptist persuasion, while his assistant, Miss Earls, was a twenty-six-year-old native of New York and a New School Presbyterian; their salaries were $300 and $250, respectively. Mrs. Lavina Smallwood, the matron in 1858, was listed as seamstress in 1860; a Choctaw by birth, her salary was $100, and her religious affiliation was not given. Usually a farmer was named on the staff and in 1858 a Mr. J. P. Newton was listed in that position. But in 1860 the farmer was Mr. W. Boyd, a twenty-five-year-old Virginia Methodist who received an annual salary of $300 for his work. Superintendent Baker also mentioned that six black workers, one man and five women, "all belonging to citizens of the nation," were employed at the Academy at the rate of $150 for the man and $100 each for the women.

Few changes were made in the subjects taught during the Baker regime. In addition to the three R's spelling, geography, and grammar, some philosophy and astronomy became part of the curriculum. Baker considered it noteworthy when progress in mastery of English was made by any of his full-blood scholars. For example, his 1857 report contained this sentence: "Three full-blood boys, that knew nothing of the English language, learned to read tolerably well in McGuffey's First Reader during the session." Perhaps his primary concern was with the souls of the forty-five boys under his care rather than with their minds, because he noted that thirty of the boys were converted during a revival held on May 30, 1857. As Baker stated it, the meeting "resulted in awakening thirty of the Boys which they manifested by taking the anxious seat." He further noted that conversion improved their collective conduct for the remainder of the school term.

The firing on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, caused the closing of Armstrong Academy as well as the cessation of nearly all Choctaw educational enterprises. Unlike most of the boarding schools, however, its buildings were not left untended, to deteriorate and fall apart. The new brick building of which Superintendent Baker was so proud became the capitol building for the Choctaw Nation, used for that purpose between 1863 and 1883. When a new capitol building was completed at Tuskahoma, Armstrong Academy was re-opened in 1884 as an orphan school for Choctaw boys. At the turn of the century, with the dissolution of the Choctaw Nation as a political entity, the facilities continued to be utilized by the Federal government as a school for Indian boys until fire destroyed the main building in 1921. Thus ended an honorable history of seventy-six years as an educational institution which touched and molded the lives of many Choctaw young men and surely, for most of them, was a tremendous influence for good.

XI

STUDENTS IN THE STATES: THE FORTY YOUTH FUND

It will be recalled that Article XX of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek included a special provision for the education of forty Choctaw young people, the implementation of which established what became popularly known as the "Forty Youth Fund." The wording of the Treaty was:

> The U. S. agree and stipulate as follows, that for the benefit and advantage of the Choctaw people, and to improve their condition, their /sic/ shall be educated under the direction of the President and at the expense of the U. S. forty Choctaw youths for twenty years. This number shall be kept at school, and as they finish their education others, to supply their places shall be received for the period stated.

While the Choctaw Nation supported the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, until 1842, the funds authorized by Article XX were used to support forty young Choctaws at that institution. In its heyday the Academy enrolled sixty-five Choctaw boys, forty supported by money provided from the Forty Youth Fund and twenty-five maintained by funds derived from Article II of the Treaty of 1825. It should be noted that no definite amount of money was specified by Article XX and early available reports are not clear as to amounts actually expended. An audit made by the Treasury Department, ten years after the Choctaws withdrew support from the Choctaw Academy and at the close of the twenty years specified in the Treaty, furnished the most complete information uncovered as to how much money was available to the Forty Youth Fund.

In 1852, at the request of the Choctaw General Council, the Treasury Department of the United States attempted an audit of all Choctaw funds, especially those concerned with education. The "Second Auditor" of the

Treasury Department reported his findings to the commissioner of Indian Affairs in a series of letters whose contents, to the layman's eye, are often more confusing than informative. But expenditures from the Forty Youth Fund, 1831 through 1842, were detailed enough to indicate that the amount supplied to the Choctaw Academy from this source approached $10,000 annually. A letter from the auditor, dated July 20, 1852, enumerated the quarterly payments to the Academy, beginning with the second quarter in 1832 and ending with the second quarter of 1842 when the last of the Choctaw boys were withdrawn from the school. The fixed quarterly allowance for "board, tuition, medical attendance, &c" was $2,175, although actual expenditures were usually above or below this average amount. Incidental expenses, such as the "cost of collecting and sending them there," clothing them for such a trip, postage, "transportation home," and other costs not covered by the contract with the Academy were computed. When the total for incidental expenses, about $25,000, is added to the total of quarterly payments made directly to the Academy, the whole amount paid from the Forty Youth Fund between 1831 and 1842 for the education of Choctaw young men at the Kentucky school approached $120,000. When the money allotted from other sources is added to the Forty Youth Fund, the total of Choctaw support from the Kentucky institution neared $200,000 overall. Unfortunately, the auditor was not able to pinpoint the educational funds derived from Article XX after 1842, since those funds were "expended indiscriminately" with money from other treaties for educational purposes. In his words they ". . . were blended and consolidated under the general head of . . . Fulfilling treaties with the Choctaws."

When the Choctaw leadership withdrew their support from the Academy in 1842 and established neighborhood and boarding schools in the West, the bulk of the funds for support of their new educational system was derived from interest on funds invested in bonds of the state of Alabama. The Choctaws had received the principal amount of these bonds, a half million dollars, from the Treaty of 1837, made when the Chickasaws established themselves temporarily as a fourth district of the Choctaw Nation in the west. Money from other sources could also be used to increase the amount available to support the school system, but the Forty Youth Fund, according to the interpretations of both Choctaw leaders and United States officials, was dedicated solely to the education of Choctaw youth in schools and colleges of the United States. Therefore, at the same session of the General Council, that of October, 1841, which asked that funding of the Choctaw Academy be discontinued, an act was passed concerning the Forty Youth Fund.

This Act stipulated that money previously applied under provisions of Article XX to support forty young men at the Choctaw Academy thereafter should be used to educate ten young men at each of four eastern colleges, if acceptable terms could be arranged with the schools. Three of the institutions were named in the law: Ohio University, Athens, Ohio; Jefferson College, Cannonsburgh, Pennsylvania (merged with Washington College in 1865 to become Washington and Jefferson College); and Asbury University, Greencastle, Indiana, now Depauw University. The fourth institution was to be selected by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The reasons for selection of these particular institutions were not made clear, but soon after the law was passed the chief motive behind the plan was revealed in a letter from William Armstrong, Choctaw Agent, to Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford. Under the date, November 3, 1841, Armstrong wrote that the "forty youth heretofore educated" at the Choctaw Academy in

Kentucky under terms of the Treaty of 1830 would be divided to educate ten Choctaw young men each at four colleges in the United States. They would be selected, he emphasized, "to prepare them for teachers in their own institutions."

No evidence was uncovered in the reports of the Commissioner or "Letters received by the Office of Indian Affairs" to indicate that Choctaw students ever received aid from the Forty Youth Fund to attend any of the colleges named in the law. But some letters received by the Office of Indian Affairs indicated that the Commissioner did attempt to arrange "acceptable terms" with certain institutions for the education of Choctaw youths under terms of the Forty Youth Fund. A proposal from Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, approved by the college board of trustees on April 10, 1843, is a good example. Probably Lafayette was the unnamed fourth college of the 1841 law, selected by or suggested to the Commissioner. Its board offered to educate "ten Choctaw boys" at the rate of "Two hundred and fifty dollars per annum for each boy." For this sum "Board, Washing and Lodging, together with clothing and every other expense" would be furnished, and the clothing was specified to include for each individual boy:

> . . . 2 coats, 4 pairs pantaloons, 4 shirts, 4 vests, 4 cravats, 6 pairs socks, 2 hats, [3?] pairs shoes &c or such substitutes for any of these articles as may be required for the comfort and decent appearance of the boys.

A letter of July 25, 1848, from President George Junkin of Lafayette College to the Commissioner, offered to undertake the education of "three or four" Indian boys at an annual cost of $350 each for boys fifteen years of age or older, or $300 if under fifteen. But no correspondence indicated that any Choctaw students ever enrolled at Lafayette. One Choctaw student, "Hiram R. Pitchlynn of Ft. Coffee, Ark.," did attend Indiana Asbury University during the years 1847 to 1850; their trustees had offered to educate ten Choctaw youths on the same terms as those proposed by Lafayette College in 1843. Young Pitchlynn then attended Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia; he then practiced medicine in Greencastle for many years. His support while in college apparently did not derive from the Forty Youth Fund, however. No correspondence whatever was noted with either Ohio University or Jefferson College, the other two institutions named in the 1841 law.

In fact, it was not until 1848 that an eastern college enrolled Choctaw students under terms of the Forty Youth Fund law of 1841. At least no evidence of such enrollment was discovered in either the Commissioner's reports or letters received by the Indian Office. From 1848 to 1861, however, many letters provide details concerning Choctaw youths in attendance at eastern schools, boys at first and during the 1850s a number of girls. In the spring of 1848, for example, five Choctaw lads were enrolled at Delaware College in Newark, Delaware, and available sources furnish a somewhat comprehensive picture of their college careers. Delaware College, ancestor of the University of Delaware, began in 1743 as a Presbyterian academy, was moved to Newark in 1765, and chartered as a college in 1834. In 1848 Delaware College had a handful of students and a faculty of six, headed by the Rev. James P. Wilson, D. D., who also taught "mental and Moral Philosophy." Entrance requirements included first that the applicant be at least fourteen years old and of good moral character. To prove his academic capability he--coeducation was unthinkable in that day--must also pass entrance examinations in arithmetic, algebra, Latin grammar, Greek grammar, "Jacobs or Felton's Greek Reader," the first two books of Xenophon's Anabasis, "Jacobs and Doering's Latin Reader," Sallust or Caesar, Cicero's "Select Orations," Virgil, "or what shall be deemed equivalent."

The five young Choctaws selected to enroll at Delaware, mostly graduates of Spencer Academy, were Allen Wright, protege of Cyrus Kingsbury, Leonidas Garland, Joseph R. Hall, Lycurgus Pitchlynn, and William F. Howell. Pitchlynn was the son and Howell and Garland both nephews, respectively, of Peter P. Pitchlynn. A partial account of the beginning of their trip from Eagletown to Newark was found among the papers of the Howell family, but it is often more frustrating than informative. For example, writing to Pitchlynn, his "Dear Unkle," and including "A record of our trip from the Nation," young Howell failed to name all the members of his party on the ride by horseback and wagon from Eagletown to Little Rock. Joseph Hall was not in the party because he planned to meet them at Little Rock; presumably Wright and Garland were and Lycurgus Pitchlynn was mentioned by name one time. Peter P. Pitchlynn and George W. Harkins, Choctaw trustees, were supposedly in charge of the party, but Howell never mentioned Pitchlynn and made only one passing reference to "Mr. Harkins." However, Howell's incomplete narrative, often a series of comma splices, affords some enlightening glimpses into the nature and habits of these young Choctaws, mostly of mixed blood and in their late teens or early twenties, as they left their homes to continue their educations in a new and strange environment. Allen Wright, aged twenty-two, was possibly the only full blood among the five; "possibly," because some white blood might have been present in his lineage. As it turned out, his was to be the most illustrious career of any of the group.

"We enjoyed ourselves," young Howell wrote of their first day out of Eagletown, March 6, 1848. They could not resist racing their horses, among other amusements, to help combat the tedium of the ride. Their place of lodging that first night was not reached until "about 8 o'clock" when, wrote Howell:

> . . . we arrived at Mr. Russel's . . . he politely offered us some whiskey to drink for it was very cold but we refused, for we had got too much advice from our Fathers and Mothers about it, we were very much wearied when we got there.

Another temptation faced them in the morning at breakfast when ". . . some of us took some very anxious looks at one of his daughters who poured out our coffee; but we had little time to stay to avail any good from our looks."

The second day began as a "very cold morning." At first, young Howell wrote, they rode in "a Indian manner, (i. e.) one after an other." But as the morning progressed, he continued:

> . . . we got to enjoying ourselves by running our horses & [chasing ??] each other; but this was mostly done to keep our minds of [*sic*] from thinking of home. We ate our dinner as usual, our pleasures and fun which we enjoyed in the former part of the [day] was turned into weariness & we were scatered [*sic*] all along the road, none of us had anything to say to each other, but once & a while you could hear one of us say how far [was] it to Mr. Speers. This was where we were going to put up at.

The third day was lost for travel since they had to spend the time hunting for most of their horses which had escaped from the lot during the night. The remaining horses:

> . . . that had not got out had founded [*sic*] so that they could not walk, on account of this

> we were compelled to stay one day to hunt for those that were lost & to doctor those that were sick, we hunted a whole day for them, but did not find only a part of them, all hands were out hunting all day, the weather that day was very bad.

On the fourth day "Colwell & Moses Dyer, who came to take our horses back" left the party, which continued on to "little rock" by wagon. This conveyance, with his son-in-law to drive it, was rented from their overnight landlord to complete the overland journey. After the entry for the fifth day young Howell's "record of our trip from the Nation" became more confused and ended with the peculiar signature, "By Smart." If he wrote more concerning the trip, the record was not found. The party reached Little Rock safely. Since they arrived later than planned, Joseph Hall, the fifth young student, had despaired of meeting them and returned to his home. Hall later made the trip to Delaware, arriving in November. Presumably, the four traveled on from Little Rock by steamboat and stagecoach to arrive in "Washington City" in late March. There they remained for several days, while arrangements were completed for their entrance into Delaware College; their board and lodging at Fullers Hotel was "1$ a day each." In a letter dated April 19, W. P. T. Graham, Secretary of Delaware College, informed Commissioner W. Medill that Delaware College would ". . . with pleasure receive the four youths on whom you speak [and] watch over & educate them to the best of our ability." Board was priced at $1.50 per week, Graham wrote, and since the next term began on April 26, Graham suggested that they plan to arrive a few days before that date in order to get settled before classes began.

Allen Wright became ill and Howell, Pitchlynn, and Garland proceeded to Newark without him, arriving on April 27, the day after the term began.

Their tardiness made no difference, however, since they were found deficient to enter as college freshmen. After Wright's arrival, President Wilson wrote the Commissioner that since they could not enter immediately as freshmen, because of low grades on their entrance tests, they had been "put upon a course of private study" to qualify them for regular admission in September. Wilson was pleased with their response to the situation in which they found themselves and reported that:

> Though for a long time previously unused to study, and their habits of application necessarily interrupted, I was as much surprised as gratified to witness the cheerful alacrity and zeal, with which they commenced their labors and continued them, with unabated ardor and success, through summer term, and the long subsequent vacation to within two weeks of the fall session.

In a note to his uncle, Peter Pitchlynn, written early on a July morning while the young men were in the middle of their "course of private study," young Howell penned some lines which could describe a student-teacher relationship in any age. Here they are:

> I thought I would improve this hour by writing to you, as our teacher have oversleep [sic] himself, which gave me time to answer your letters; I rose this morning at five--which I did very reluctantly, went to recitation & there remained some 25 or 30 minutes waiting for our teacher who did not come. The class then went to their rooms; you may think it very singular to get of [sic] from recitation, but it is a very frequent [illegible]. Students will go to the room whare [sic] they recite, and if the teachers do not come in the space of ten or twelve minutes, they will leave, but this have not happined [sic] to us but [a] few times, for we have got an old Yankee teacher who is at the room every morning waiting for us, and if we do happen to get of [sic] he is very apt to lengthen the lesson [to] twice the quantity it was at first; therefore we are not bettered any, if we leave the room before he comes. I receive[d] another letter from you yesterday, in which you stated that Mr. Garland & Miss Folsom had got married. . . .

The four young Choctaws enrolled as college freshmen in September and continued to earn President Wilson's praise. At the close of the fall term he stated that they had entered creditably, maintained their class standing, and made steady, rapid improvement while manifesting:

> . . . mental capacity, industry and self-denying application, fully equal to any of their associates . . . . In docility of disposition and morality, their conduct has been worthy of approval, even in high degree exemplary.

When Joseph Hall, the young man who had missed the appointment at Little Rock, arrived in early November, he also was found deficient and was given special instruction before admission to full standing as a college student. By the start of the fall term in 1849, Hall had closed the gap and achieved the same academic level as the others. In the meantime, however, tragedy had struck and the second year began with only four Choctaw youths at Delaware College instead of the original five.

On February 24, 1849, President Wilson wrote the Commissioner that young Howell's health was failing. Calling him the "most promising of all the Indian youths," Wilson stated that, weakened by influenza, Howell was constantly spitting blood and the doctor feared "consumption." The young student was bedfast in his room for the four weeks prior to his death in mid-March, and during the period received the "kindest attention from the ladies in the village." On March 19 President Wilson informed the Indian Office that Young Howell had died "Saturday morning last" and was "buried this morning." Possibly Peter P. Pitchlynn had come down from Washington to check on his nephew and was present at the funeral, because Wilson stated that Pitchlynn had picked up some of Howell's clothing, his Bible and hymnbook, and a few of his personal effects to "take home to his friends."

President Wilson also wrote a letter of respect for young Howell which was forwarded by the Commissioner to Agent S. M. Rutherford. The Choctaw Agent sent copies to Howell's father and to the Choctaw General Council. Two resolutions of respect appeared in the May 3, 1849, issue of the *Choctaw Telegraph* at Doaksville. One of these was from the "Athenaean Literary [Society] of Deleware [*sic*] College," of which Howell must have been a member; the other was from the whole student body of the College. The latter stated that all students would attend Howell's funeral en masse and as a "testimonial of respect for our beloved brother" would wear "crape on the left arm for thirty days."

Howell's death had a sobering effect on the four remaining young Choctaws, but the resilience of youth helped them to recover quickly from any negative feelings produced by the demise of their fellow student. They finished the year with good reports. In July, 1849, soon after completion of the third term of the freshman year, Delaware College sent grade reports for the four Choctaw students to the Commissioner which attested to their progress during their first college year. Numbers were used for grading, similar to the point method used today for averaging letter grades in many colleges and universities. The official explanation of the grading system was:

> There are four classes in scholarship. An average of 3 and above puts the student into the *First* class; of from 2½ to 3, into the *Second*; of from 2 to 2½, into the *Third*; if below 2 into the *Fourth*. Note. Standing in either the First or Second class is considered an *honor*, and is announced at Commencement.

Two of the Choctaw students were in the Second class, Allen Wright and Lycurgus Pitchlynn. Young Wright scored a 2.66, was never absent from recitations or "Rooms in Study Hours," and was absent only once each from church and prayers, these absences being marked "Excused." His best subject was Greek, with marks of 2.84 in "Recitation, &c." and 2.88 in "Special Examinations." His poorest mark was a 2.12 in History. Of his performance generally, W. P. T. Graham, the college secretary noted: "Allen W. is a close [sic] student & improved very fast [;] he has earned a highly honorable report." Young Pitchlynn earned a 2.52 average and these words from Graham: "Lycurgus has improved very much as student & scholar during the past session." Of Leonidas Garland, whose average was 2.41, the secretary made no comments. Understandably, since he had arrived in Newark several months later than the others, Joseph Hall had the lowest grades. His average was 2.28, which Graham explained somewhat by writing that young Hall was not ". . . yet quite square with his class in Greek--we think he will soon take his stand with them." Commissioner Medill, in a letter dated July 4, 1849, received a further appraisal of the academic progress of the young Choctaws from President Wilson:

> The four Choctaw youths are doing very well indeed. They are all studious, and attentive, and maintain their standing in the class--being the best in the class in some branches. [Pitchlynn] has done admirably all this term, and has given no cause for reproof or censure of any kind, and seems anxious to make the most of his time. Allen Wright is as usual entirely exemplary in all respects. Hall & Garland, were not satisfied with their knowledge of some of the branches of mathematics they had passed over, and desired permission to review them under private instruction. To this I consented, but it will not again be necessary for them to do so.

No account was found which detailed the total expenses for the five youths during their first year at Delaware College. However, scattered items in the records examined give enough information to allow an approximation not far off the mark. Certainly the estimate of a basic annual cost per student of $210, including clothing, quoted to the Commissioner in the fall of 1848 by President Wilson, was not realistic. So that on October 31, Wilson found it necessary to write that the young Choctaws had spent more money than had been furnished, were "in entire want of everything," and it would be necessary to supply them immediately. Preserved among the papers of the Indian Office is a detailed estimate of expenses for Joseph Hall--nothing of the sort was discovered for any of the others--for the six months beginning on November 8, 1848, and ending May 1, 1849. Included were:

1.	Room furnishings, including bedding	$ 22.75
2.	Books--	
	Latin, Leverett Large Lexicon	
	Smith's Classical Dictionary	
	[Anthony's?] Dicty of Antiquities	
	Latin Grammar	
	Lincoln's Livy	
	Greek Lexicon	
	Crosby's Greek Grammar	
	Owen's Xenophon's Anabasis	
	Webster's Octavo Lexicon	
	Hann's Greek Testament	
	Bible	25.43½
3.	College Expenses (25 weeks or 1½ terms)	
	Tuition	32.00
	Board @ $1.50 per week	37.50
	Clothing	37.50
	Pocket money @ 50¢ per week	12.50
	Washing and mending	5.00
	[illegible]	10.00
	Light and Heat	10.00
4.	Miscellaneous	
	Omitted above--3 chairs	1.25
	Freight on furniture and books from Philadelphia	2.00
		$195.93½

If this can be considered the normal costs for six months--perhaps books and furniture should not be included, but some of these items would need replacement and some minor costs were undoubtedly omitted--the minimum annual expenses for one student would have totaled $391.87. Probably $400 per annum per pupil would be a reasonable estimate of the yearly expenses, almost double the $210 originally calculated.

For a very good reason, the Choctaw students spent only two more terms at Delaware College. The College closed its doors at the end of the winter term in March, 1859, and it became necessary for all scholars to transfer to another institution. Also, some dissatisfaction with Delaware College had begun to surface early in January, 1850, which might have led to the transfer regardless. On January 18, 1850, Lycurgus Pitchlynn requested Commissioner Orlando Brown to arrange for his change to another college. He had not desired to attend Delaware in the first place, he wrote, because it was located too far north in a cold climate, was too small, and he was getting no training in business. Leonidas Garland also wrote the Commissioner in mid-January about the "approaching end" of Delaware College. He asked if "we from the Nation" could decide for themselves the institution to which they would transfer. If so, he remarked, he wanted to start making inquiries with the counsel of President Wilson. A few days later the Commissioner received a letter, dated January 29, signed by the District Chiefs, Thomas Leflore, Peter Folsom, and "Ah-to-ka," as well as the school trustees, George W. Harkins, Forbis Leflore, R. M. Jones, and Thomson McKinney. The burden of their message was that two more young Choctaws at Spencer were "fully prepared to enter College," but that they did not want to send them to Delaware. Rather, they desired the Commissioner to select an institution in one of the "western states." The Choctaw officials had no objection to Delaware College as an institution, they said, but were concerned as to the "evil effects of placing too many of our youths together in one place . . . ." Further, the boys had complained about their meals at Delaware. Some of them had changed to a boarding house other than the one assigned by the college, and their parents then had to pay the difference between the $1.50 weekly furnished by the college and the higher rate charged by the new boarding place. This, the officials said, "was not intended by the nation."

But, as it turned out, Commissioner Brown had to remove the young men from Delaware College anyway. On February 21 President Wilson wrote Brown that he had received the copy of Lycurgus Pitchlynn's letter of January 18; that there would be no problem with Delaware College about Pitchlynn's transfer to another institution since Delaware would cease operation at the end of the term in March; and that the buildings would be used by one of the present faculty for a "Scientific School." As for young Pitchlynn, Wilson asserted that the "sooner he is sent home the better," and further money spent on him would be wasted. Although he was perhaps the best scholar among the Indian students, the others "despised him for his baseness" and felt disgraced by him. Wilson referred to Allen Wright and the others as "noble youths, indeed," but his final judgment of Lycurgus branded that young Choctaw as "utterly destitute of stability, or of principle." One cause of Wilson's bitter feeling was noted in another source, namely, that Lycurgus had created and failed to pay some bills, "entirely unauthorized" by Wilson, such as a "tavern bill" for $7.78 and a "Livery Stable" bill for $7.50. The local businessmen in Newark looked to President Wilson for payment, of course, and his resentment of young Pitchlynn's conduct was thus aggravated.

President Wilson informed the Commissioner that a large majority of Delaware College students planned to transfer to Union College, Schenectady, New York, of which the Reverend Eliphalet Nott was president. The Indian students, excluding Pitchlynn but including a young Chickasaw, Holmes Colbert, were among those hoping to enroll at Union. Wilson considered it a fine college and approved of their selection. In March two "Choctaw men" were in Newark--they were not named in Wilson's letter--on their way to Plainfield, Connecticut, where several Indian boys were in preparatory school. These had agreed to escort Lycurgus Pitchlynn back to the Choctaw Nation if he would meet them in New York. Wilson asked that eighty dollars be furnished to finance Pitchlynn's trip home and this was done. Lycurgus missed connection with his two escorts in New York, who informed Wilson that they would wait for him in Cincinnati. Presumably he kept that rendezvous for the next mention of Lycurgus found him at home.

By April 6 President Wilson had left Newark and was living in Philadelphia. On that date he informed Commissioner Brown of his move and explained what he had done to assist the young Choctaws before his departure from Newark. He had sold the boys' furniture and used some of the proceeds to purchase trunks for each, since their only luggage on the trip from the Nation had been saddlebags, and had assisted them generally to wind up their affairs in Newark. Wilson advised the Commissioner to allow them to make the trip to Schenectady on their own, rather than move them under escort by an official agent. He praised the young Indians--Wright, Hall, Garland, and Colbert, the Chickasaw--as being "perfect gentlemen" who were "perfectly competent" to take care of themselves. They were all twenty years old or over and, as students, among "the finest we had in Delaware College," he said; they would feel insulted, and that their manliness was in question, unless they were allowed to travel on their own. En route to Schenectady, if permissible, the Choctaws planned to visit in Philadelphia and New York City and Colbert in Connecticut. Wilson concluded his recommendation with, "I have entire confidence in their discretion, & think that their wishes in the matter . . . should be gratified."

The young men were allowed to travel on their own, but did not actually depart from Newark until April 20. Possibly the Commissioner was moved to action by a letter from Allen Wright, who told Brown they had been waiting for three weeks to learn about the arrangements, with "everything packed--ready for start." After urging the Commissioner to do something at once, he politely closed his note with, "Please excuse our impatience." Brown immediately dispatched one William B. Waugh to act as his special agent and to assist the young men in winding up their affairs in Newark. Waugh reported to Brown on April 24 that he had been to Newark, paid off all the debts of the young Indians except a doctor's bill which he questioned, and supplied each with funds for their journey. Wright, Hall, and Garland each received $48; Colbert, the Chickasaw, was allowed $107 to escort Frederick McCalla, another Chickasaw boy in preparatory school at Newark, to another school in Plainfield, Connecticut. The four were instructed to notify Brown upon their arrival at Schenectady.

The three young Choctaws and young Colbert were at Union in time for the college term which began on April 26, 1850. Union College accepted them with the same standing which they had achieved at Delaware, that of third term sophomores. Alexander Holland, "Register" of Union College, was directly responsible for seeing that the young Indians obtained whatever they needed. He informed Commissioner Brown upon their arrival that they lacked "books, furniture, bedding, &c, &c," inquired as to how their expenses should be handled and to what limit, and said that he would furnish their immediate necessities and forward the bills to the Indian Office for payment. The first bill, mailed on May 11 to cover the initial expenses for the four Indians--Wright, Hall, and Garland (Choctaws) and Colbert (Chickasaw)--lumped the expenses of Colbert with those of the Choctaws. The itemized bill, headed by "Paid for," looked like this:

. . . 4 bedsteads, 4 mattresses, 2 Bureaus, 2 wash stands, looking glasses, chairs, tables, Pillow cases, ticks & feathers, sheets, comforters, towels, &c &c	—	$108.00
4 pairs of blankets	--	14.00
Ewers & Basins Pitchers tumblers &c &c	--	4.25
College Tuition and room, $19 each	—	76.00
Twelve weeks board, $36 each	--	144.00
Washing, $4 each	—	16.00
		$363.00

Since Garland and Colbert both needed clothing and boots, the Register suggested that Commissioner Brown remit $400, an amount he believed would cover expenses for the term.

In a note to the Commissioner on May 4, Allen Wright reported, as group leader during the transfer, that they had safely arrived in Schenectady and were pleased with the college. He characterized President Nott as a "very fine gentleman" and described the professors as competent. If Wright was speaking for all four of the Indians, the feeling of satisfaction soon ceased for two of them. On July 2, 1850, enclosed with a letter inquiring as to what the Indians might do during the approaching vacation break, Register Holland sent the Commissioner a letter written by Leonidas Garland stating that he wanted to leave college and return home. Part of his well-written statement ran:

> When we started for this Institution (which of all others was our choice) I anticipated a career of contentment, happiness and benefit, but to my grief and dissatisfaction it has resulted otherwise.

Then, in apparent contradiction of the above, he remarked that he really couldn't complain about the advantages afforded by Union College and noted that President Nott had done everything in his power to make the Indian boys comfortable and happy, "having taken [them] into his family and treating [them] as members of such." But then he complained that his health was "being impaired" and that the "Register or others" would inform Brown as to some other difficulties.

The nature of these other difficulties was never discovered, but the evidence available indicates that Garland was possibly suffering from a severe case of unrequited love. In a note to the Indian Office on July 16, 1850, Holland stated that three of the young Indians were studying and conducting themselves in a satisfactory manner but that Garland was not. The Register then speculated as to the root of Garland's problems. Was it simply homesickness? Or a "mania" from which he suffered? He was gloomy, sought solitude, and seemed incapable of study, Holland stated; but the other young Indians assured the Register that Garland's demeanor was normal for him and had been the same before his coming to Union. And at the moment, while his three companions were requesting funds to visit friends in Rhode Island during the break between terms, Garland insisted on going to Washington and then returning to the Choctaw Nation. When the term ended, however, he did not go to Washington but returned to Newark. Garland requested that his books, clothes, and other personal things be shipped to him there; but Register Holland, on August 9, shipped Garland's effects by express to the Commissioner at Washington, not being sure, he said, that Newark was on the "Express line."

Leonidas Garland remained in Newark several weeks--whomever he visited there was never revealed by the available correspondence. But he wrote from Newark on August 19 and again on September 4 asking the Commissioner for an advance of money, needed for "unforeseen expenses." Sometime in September the young Choctaw left Newark for Washington, where on September 27 he composed a most poignant missive for the eyes of the Commissioner. He noted that of the five Choctaw youths sent East by their people to be educated, one "sleeps in the cold grave"; another had returned home without having "fulfilled the expectations of his nation"; and Garland himself was "liable to a similar fate." "Out of the five," he wrote, "only two are left!" Then, after some confused reasoning and a denial that he had been expelled from Union College, he stated that he desired to rejoin his two companions in Schenectady.

Leonidas did return to Schenectady in late October, 1850, after promising to do well. President Nott was quoted as saying he had little confidence that young Garland would change his ways. Still, he thought it so desirable that Garland:

> . . . should be returned to his tribe an educated and moral man, that it [was Nott's] duty to give him another trial. Should that trial fail, the department [would] be immediately informed of it.

In the same letter Nott reported that Wright, Hall, and Colbert were "behaving and studying well." Apparently Nott was justified in his fears that Leonidas would not settle down to his college studies. On December 15 Leonidas wrote the Commissioner that he had returned to Union after a trip to Georgetown College in Kentucky; further, he added, it seemed impossible for him to "settle down in content." This pattern of behavior continued well into the summer and fall of 1851. A note from the Register of Union College to the Commissioner, dated June 20, 1851, mentioned that Garland had just returned to the College. He had expressed so strong a desire to go home that President Nott had furnished him a hundred dollars and sent him on his way. If he failed to return, the Register promised that his furniture would be sold and the proceeds credited to the Department of the Interior.

But Leonidas remained in the East, staying in Philadelphia until the fall of 1851. In mid-September, when his request for additional funds was denied by the Commissioner on the grounds that his conduct "of late [had] been such as to forfeit even the slightest consideration," his Indian pride led him to retort, "Though an Indian, and because such believed by many to have no independence, no soul, and no pride, yet I [claim] to be a free man and will *crow crow* [*sic*] *while I live*." While in Philadelphia Leonidas resided at the American Hotel, on Chestnut Street opposite Independence Hall. The manager, one A. J. White, wrote the Commissioner on September 22 and presented Garland's bill. The young Choctaw, White wrote, had been "a guest of mine for several months past." The manager had allowed him to remain because of a letter from his parents, who wanted the young man to come home. White requested the Indian Office for funds to "discharge his liabilities" to the hotel and pay for his trip to the Choctaw Nation. Presumably this was done, as no further correspondence from or concerning Garland was uncovered. His hotel bill in Philadelphia totaled $116.77, of which $91.43 was for "14 4/7 Weeks Board" and $25.34 for cash advanced to cover extra meals," laundry and other incidentals.

Since Holmes Colbert had dropped out of college in January, 1851, the return to the Nation of Leonidas Garland left only two of the four

Indian students who had entered Union College in the spring of 1850 still enrolled. Although both Allen Wright and Joseph Hall remained through the senior year, in the middle of their junior year President Nott was ready to discontinue his efforts to educate all the Indian boys. In a doleful letter to Commissioner Luke Lea, penned on December 31, 1850, he began with, "I regret to say that we have not been so fortunate as I hoped to have been, with the Indian youths committed to our care." He then stated that perhaps they had not been fully qualified to become members of the classes to which they had been assigned; as a result, although able to cope with their studies, the courses were so difficult for the young Indians that they became easily discouraged. Their only complaint actually voiced to him, Nott continued, was that they were not allowed pocket money without being required to make some report as to how it was spent. Did the Department desire their money to be doled out to them without such accountability? Nott asked. He reported further that at times all the young Indians appeared "moody and disconcerted," even Wright, characterized as a "very promising and well behaved young man." Apparently both Hall and Colbert, well behaved but homesick, wanted to go home immediately for a visit and Nott requested that funds be sent to grant their request. And so strong was his sense of failure, of not really understanding the Indian character, that he stated, "Nor shall I be disappointed should both Wright and Garland desire to leave before their education is finished."

Colbert departed in January, 1851; Garland some months later, but Wright and Hall remained in college. Available evidence does not indicate that Joseph Hall actually qualified for a degree. The last mention of him in the correspondence received by the Office of Indian Affairs was a letter of introduction for Hall to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This document, dated May 10, 1852, at "Washington City," was signed by "Thomson McKenny," longtime school trustee for Mushulatubbee District, and introduced young Hall as ". . . a Choctaw who has just completed his course at Union College and is now on his way home." McKenney requested that Hall be given $125 out of the Choctaw school funds in order "to carry him home." Allen Wright did not graduate from Union College until July, 1852; if Hall returned to the Choctaw Nation in May, he probably was not granted a degree.

After his graduation from Union College, Allen Wright enrolled in Union Theological Seminary in New York City, where he spent three more years before returning home to the Choctaw Nation. For most of the period between his college graduation in July and the opening of the fall term at the Seminary, he remained in Schenectady. Part of this vacation period was spent recuperating from an accident on July 29, when Allen was injured by the explosion of a pistol. At an exhibition by an itinerant juggler he volunteered as a member from the audience to fire a pistol. Of "peculiar construction," the weapon had a concealed barrel over which Wright placed his hand. When he fired, the flesh of his hand was "torn and shattered," according to the account of a Schenectady newspaper, which continued:

> With genuine Indian fortitude, he betrayed no symptoms of pain, even by an exclamation or a look, and it was not until it was noticed that his arm was motionless and bleeding that any one knew that an accident had occurred. Shortly afterward he fainted from pain and loss of blood. Dr. Jones, who was present, promptly attended to him, and he is now doing well.

He had also done well at Union College. Not only had he completed an A. B. degree, but he had been an active member of Delta Phi, Greek letter social fraternity, and several college-wide organizations. Writing to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on October 12, 1852, L. H. Willard, Acting Register of Union College, had these words of praise for the young Choctaw:

> Mr. Wright . . . bore a high character for scholarship, and his conduct was uniformly such as to win the respect and esteem of all who knew him. He graduated with high honor in his class, and leaves here carrying with him the sincere wishes of the President and faculty for his future success.

For his part, Allen Wright retained the most pleasant memories of Union College throughout his life. His experience there exemplified what the missionary teachers dreamed of as the highest fulfillment of their efforts to educate and Christianize the Choctaw people. Born in Mississippi, he was an orphan when he arrived in the West in 1834, his widowed mother having died on the Trail of Tears. The eight-year-old soon became a favorite of the mission teachers of the American Board. Perhaps Miss Eunice Clough knew some Choctaw and understood the meaning of Allen Wright's Choctaw name, "Kiliahote," interpreted "Let's go make a light"; for certainly, like Alfred Wright for whom she named Allen, he was destined to "make a light" for his people. As for Union College, three of his four sons were graduates of that institution and the eldest was named Eliphalet Nott in honor of the college president who had been Allen's friend and adviser when he studied there.

Allen Wright's transfer to Union Theological Seminary featured some bureaucratic foul-ups, not unusual in any age when a Federal office is involved. The young Choctaw arrived in New York City from Schenectady in time for the beginning of the Seminary term of October 6, 1852, only to find that no arrangements had been made for his enrollment. In a letter to Commissioner Luke Lea, he informed that official of his situation. Since there was nobody at the Seminary who could "act as a guardian," he had decided to write the Department himself; with the precedent thus set, he continued to act for himself during his three years at the Seminary. Wright requested that he be advanced $150 or $200 immediately, since he could not enroll until a remittance came from the Department, and he needed extra funds for such nonrecurring expenses as a bed, bedding, furniture, and textbooks. Allen would not have known this when he wrote to the Commissioner; but the "Second Triennial Catalogue," published by the Seminary in January, 1853, stated that "convenient private rooms and dormitories" were available for "about eighty" students, and that the rooms had ". . . been furnished with carpets, chairs, tables, beds and bedding, chiefly through the liberality of one of the friends of the Seminary." In fact, looking back from the vantage of today, everything was furnished at bargain prices. The average price for board was "rarely" more than $1.75 per week; washing was done at the rate of "fifty cents the dozen"; and gas for fuel was "introduced into all the rooms" at cost of not more than five dollars a year per person.

It was October 14 before Allen received any funds in the City, a draft for fifty dollars. On October 25 he received another draft for $100, enough to support him until January 1, 1853. The delay was caused by the fact that the Commissioner had felt compelled to write Union College to determine young Wright's status there before sending him money for his Seminary expenses. On October 12, Acting Register L. H. Willard replied from Schenectady that he had been surprised to receive the Commissioner's letter of October 9, which contained a copy of Allen Wright's letter to the Commissioner. Willard had supposed that young Wright's entry into Union Theological Seminary had been:

> . . . understood and acquiesced in by [the Commissioner], as he had all along designed, after completing his course of study here, to fit himself for the ministry before returning to the Nation . . . .

On October 16 Willard closed the Choctaw account at Union College, reporting a balance of $20.45 "due the United States." In the meantime Allen Wright enrolled in the Seminary as a member of the Junior class--this was the lowest of three classes, the other two being Middle and Senior--and was assigned to Room 32 in the Seminary Building. He and his roommate, Edward Stratton of Philadelphia, a fellow graduate of Union College in July, were two of a beginning class of thirty-four. Nearly half of these, sixteen, were residents of New York and Pennsylvania, thirteen were from New England and the old Northwest, and one each hailed from Virginia, Mississippi, Canada, Turkey, and the Choctaw Nation. With twenty-four Middle Class men, twenty-two Seniors, and eight "Resident Licentiates," the Seminary enrollment totaled eighty-eight. Listed on the faculty of five in 1852 was "Rev. James P. Wilson, D. D., Professor of Systematic Theology," who had been president of Delaware College when Allen Wright was a student there. Friends such as his roommate, Edward Stratton, and Professor Wilson undoubtedly helped the young Choctaw during those first days in New York while he awaited funds from Washington.

By late October Wright reported that he had settled himself comfortably and was "beginning to study." A note to Commissioner Lea, under date of January 14, 1853, requested that $100 be sent to cover his expenses for the coming term and closed with the statement:

> [I am] getting along remarkably well with my theological studies or perhaps I might say better than my anticipations. God has prospered my endeavors and [I] am grateful to Him for my success.

The 1853-1855 letters to the Indian Office give little information about Wright's Seminary activities, since the missives were chiefly concerned with his financial statements and requests for needed funds. In February, 1853, just before Commissioner Luke Lea was replaced following the election of 1852, Allen wrote him a note of thanks, stating that "perhaps this is the last letter" that he would address to Lea officially. He added that he was grateful for ". . . past favors of kind and prompt attention to respond to all my requests. May the smiles of kind Providence be ever with you in all the various changes of your future life." On May 19, 1853, he introduced himself to Commissioner George W. Manypenny, Lea's replacement, in a letter requesting $150 to cover his financial needs during the summer. He explained that his expenses were paid through the "Choctaw Education Fund," that the spring term closed on June 15, and that he desired to spend the time before the start of the fall term in September "somewhere in the country" for recreation.

Allen must have enjoyed the summer vacations. He spent that of 1854, he said, by "wandering or rambling through the country." There was never time, of course, to visit the Choctaw Nation since almost the entire vacation period would have been consumed by the trip out and back. For some reason, Manypenny's office was not prompt in remitting funds during his senior year. This caused young Wright such anxiety that he was once moved to tell the Commissioner that there was a "certain point beyond which patience ceases to be a virtue." He completed the course, despite his difficulties, in early May of 1855. It was October 1, however, before Allen left New York for the Choctaw Nation, his departure being delayed by the completion of "regular Seminary duties" and a vacation trip to visit Eastern friends. Upon reaching the Nation in the fall of 1855, Allen Wright began his illustrious career as Presbyterian minister and missionary to his people as well as Choctaw statesman of the first rank.

During the two decades preceding the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 a number of other Choctaw students were enrolled in Eastern colleges besides the five who attended Delaware and Union colleges, but the records concerning their college careers are incomplete and piecemeal compared to the ones available for Allen Wright and his compatriots. Also, few other colleges enrolled more than two Choctaw students at one time, and never was there a total of forty Choctaw students in United States colleges during a given term. Further, the United States Treasury records indicate that while an average of perhaps $10,000 annually had been spent for the Choctaw Academy from the Forty Youth Fund between 1831 and 1842, no such yearly amount was spent for students in the states between 1842 and 1860. Costs for the five at Delaware College in 1848-1849 might reasonably be figured at $400 each or $2,000 overall. When Howell's death left four, the cost for the second year would have totaled $1,600. Only three attended the junior year at Union, at an estimated cost of $1,200, and only two for the senior year for an expenditure of $800. If these figures are approximately correct, the four-year total for these five students, finally reduced to two, was $5,600. Over a four-year period, this amounted to an average annual expenditure of only $1,400 for this starting group of five. For Choctaw students in other colleges, the records indicate that the annual amount spent for each was likely to be only $250 or less.

In any case, when the year 1852 arrived and the Commissioner had begun to consider discontinuing disbursements from the Forty Youth Fund, which the Treaty of 1830 limited to twenty years, as previously noted the Choctaw leadership requested a complete audit of the expenditures of Choctaw funds for education since 1830. Between 1831 and 1842 the amount expended for the Forty Youth Fund was probably figured correctly, since it all went to the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. But between 1843 and 1851 the figures were incomplete. The "Second Auditor" for the Treasury Department, who made the study for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, noted that the figures for 1843-1851, inclusive, were obtained from records which did not show how the payment of Choctaw funds were authorized, nor did they indicate what treaties were involved. As the Auditor put it, funds derived from the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek seemed to have been "expended indiscriminately with those under other treaties for educational purposes." So he lumped all expenditures for Choctaw education between 1843 and 1851 together and arrived at a total of $76,756.82. This amount was woefully below the total funds allocated by Choctaw law for the boarding schools alone. During the first eight-year period after their establishment, ending in 1851, the Choctaw Nation spent at least $160,000 in support of Spencer, Fort Coffee, Armstrong, and Norwalk academies, and New Hope, Wheelock, Koonsha, Chuahla, and Iyanubbee seminaries. Expenditures for neighborhood schools and students at college would have been in addition to the $160,000 for boarding schools.

If any realistic overall total was ever reached, it was not found in the sources examined. But the Choctaw leadership reached an agreement with the Commissioner for continuation of Federal support for college students after 1852, a support which continued until 1860. This understanding brought supervision of their college students more directly under Choctaw control, and during the 1850s girls also began to be educated in eastern schools with assistance from Choctaw educational funds. Among institutions patronized by the Choctaws in the decade prior to the Civil War, in addition to Delaware and Union, were Dartmouth in New Hampshire, Georgetown and Centre colleges in Kentucky, Cumberland University and others in Tennessee, and others for both men and women for which few records were located.

Before 1861 Joseph P. Folsom was the only Choctaw student mentioned by name as attending Dartmouth College. Indian Office correspondence from 1852 through 1854 revealed that young Folsom was attending the New Hampshire college through help from "Moor's Charity fund for the education of Indians." Since the fund provided only enough to feed and clothe the young Choctaw, the Choctaw trustees requested in 1852 that $50 be sent to him at Dartmouth to be used for books and other essential needs. Some evidence indicates that Alfred Wright, whose boyhood was spent in Lebanon, Connecticut, may have influenced Joseph Folsom and other Choctaws to attend Dartmouth. Lebanon was the original location of Moor's Indian Charity School. Established by Eleazar Wheelock, Moor's was the forerunner of Dartmouth College and residual source of the Indian education fund from which Folsom received his basic support while attending Dartmouth. The example of Eleazar Wheelock must have influenced Alfred Wright to devote his life to work among the Indians, since the missionary named his Choctaw mission station "Wheelock." On February 4, 1853, Wright penned a letter to Dr. Nathan Lord, president of Dartmouth College, in which he stated that Joseph Folsom had not received the $50 due from the Commissioner and requested Dr. Lord to inquire in Washington as to why the money had not been sent. He then added some lines which indicated that other Choctaw students were enrolled at Hanover:

> It has been our hope and prayer that the Choctaw young men now at Dartmouth may become faithful & able ministers of the New Testament for our Choctaw Churches /̄which_7 doubtless hereafter /̄must be_7 under the care of our native pastors.

However, no other Choctaws besides Folsom were found to be enrolled at Dartmouth during the 1850s; but the Dartmouth College Archives do list a young Choctaw, Albert Carney, as attending the college in the early 1870s. Final mention of Folsom among the Indian Office letters came in a note from Peter P. Pitchlynn, "Supt Public Schools," and Dickson W. Lewis, "Trustee," to the Commissioner. Dated May 24, 1854, it stated that Joseph Folsom would graduate from Dartmouth "in July next" and requested that the "sum of $200" be furnished him to pay off his debts. Upon graduation, he returned home to serve his Nation as member of the General Council, National School Trustee, member of the Doaksville Constitutional Convention, and compiler of the Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation, among other accomplishments.

At least two Kentucky colleges, Georgetown, not far from the site of the Choctaw Academy, and Centre at Danville, enrolled Choctaw students during this decade. Not much was learned about Choctaws at Georgetown College, a Baptist institution. President Howard "Malcom" /̄*sic*_7 wrote the "Hon. Sec of War" on April 12, 1849, about the time of the transfer of the Office of Indian Affairs to the newly created Department of the Interior, requesting that Indian boys be sent to his institution. He stated that:

> Rev. Ramsay D. Potts at Doaksville writes that 3 from his school [Armstrong Academy] are now about to be sent to some college & wishes me to apply to you to have them placed here.

This note was accompanied by a letter of recommendation for the college from Governor J. J. Crittenden at Frankfort. It was not learned whether any graduates of Armstrong Academy actually attended Georgetown College as a result of this request. In fact, the only mention of a Choctaw youth at Georgetown was made by Leonidas Garland in a letter to Commissioner Luke Lea on December 15, 1850, when Leonidas told Lea that he had just returned to Union College in Schenectady from Georgetown College because he had found it "impossible . . . to settle down in content" at the Kentucky school.

At least three Choctaw young men were enrolled at Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, between 1850 and 1856. Thomas J. Bond and David Folsom enrolled as freshmen in the fall of 1850 and George W. Harkins entered a few years later. "William Wilson, Clerk" at the Choctaw Agency, on September 10, 1850, informed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that Bond and Folsom, "both about three fourths white" and aged nineteen and seventeen respectively, had attended Spencer Academy since the mid-forties. Wilson had given them $250 for "an outfit" and traveling expenses to Danville. They were, Wilson told the Commissioner, "respectable scholars" of "good moral character," and fully competent to spend the $250 wisely. Wilson mentioned further that he had consulted "Mr. Thomson McKinney, one of the School trustees," before sending Bond and Folson on their way unescorted. President John C. Young of Centre College reported their safe arrival on September 27, 1850, and requested the Commissioner to send funds to supply the young scholars with "clothing, books, tuition, & incidentals."

The Office of Indian Affairs, since the middle of 1849 a bureau of the newly formed Department of the Interior, was slow in sending funds. On March 6, 1851, Young wrote that although Bond and Folsom were "far advanced in their second quarter," nothing had been received for the payment of their bills. He then listed the quarterly expense for each for the first term as:

Tuition [full year]	-----	$ 31.00
Board [13 weeks]	-----	32.50
Clothing, about	-----	40.00
Books, about	-----	5.00
Total expenses of each	-----	$108.50

Since the annual tuition was already listed and the clothing bill was estimated at only twenty dollars, the bill for the second quarter dropped to $57.50 each. President Young also asked if he should allow the young men anything for personal expenses, "such as are usually included in a boy's pocket money." The answer to this question was affirmative and he thereafter included an item of three dollars per quarter for each as "Pocket money."

Near the close of their sophomore year President Young gave the Commissioner an evaluation of his two Choctaw wards. Both of them, he wrote, were diligent and, while possessed of "fair intelligence & reasonable scholarship," neither was endowed with "high talents." He reported that Bond was "remarkably amiable" and of good moral and religious character. His remarks about David Folsom included "sociable and pleasant" and described him as "orderly and correct" in his habits. Young's chief complaint was that the Choctaws dressed "too finely" for students being educated "out of a public fund . . . ." On December 31, 1853, during their senior year, he wrote that:

> . . . these boys are very exemplary in their conduct. I have no fault to find with them, except that they do not dress as economically as they might do. But their diligence in study & correctness of deportment are worthy of unqualified praise. They are not talented--but have, each of them, a fair, average amount of intellect.

In his final note to the Commissioner concerning them, on June 22, 1854, Young stated that Bond and Folsom would graduate on June 29, that he would furnish funds for their return home, and that their conduct for four years had been such that they had never "incurred any censure."

Thomas J. Bond attended medical school after his graduation from Centre, first at Louisville, where he was in June of 1856, and later at Pennsylvania Medical College, Philadelphia. Evidence of this was found in a request, dated February 12, 1858, from Peter P. Pitchlynn to the Commissioner:

For expenses of Dr. T. J. Bond, from Philadelphia, where he has studied medicine, to his home	--	$130.00
For a set of surgical instruments and textbooks	--	100.00
Medicines	--	70.00
Total		$300.00

Bond was the first Choctaw physician and surgeon educated through the Forty Youth Fund to practice among his people. He resided in Boggy Depot, his wife being a daughter of Rev. Israel Folsom. Nothing was learned concerning the later career of David Folsom, Bond's classmate at Centre College.

President Young's experience with George W. Harkins, another Choctaw youth, was just as frustrating as his experience with Bond and Folsom had been rewarding. In midwinter of 1854-1855, Judge Samuel Garland arrived in Danville from the Choctaw Nation with George W. Harkins, a prospective student, to be enrolled. Garland informed President Young that Harkins "was to receive aid from the Education Fund of the Nation" and on January 31, 1855, Young wrote the Commissioner to verify the status of Harkins, who had arrived "without money." By April 9 Young had heard nothing from the Commissioner and inquired again. This letter revealed the presence of another Choctaw student named James, and a Creek named William R. McIntosh. Not deemed as ready for college, Harkins, James, and McIntosh were attending a preparatory school. James and McIntosh apparently did not plan to enroll at Centre but desired to go on to an unnamed college in New England. Presumably they did, as neither was mentioned again in connection with the Forty Youth Fund. But Harkins remained in Danville, a thorn in Young's flesh until the fall of 1856, when he departed without so much as a by-your-leave from President Young and probably without ever having enrolled at Centre. In the meantime President Young had tried to look after Harkins, even to the extent of paying some bills which Young considered highly extravagant.

The negligence of the United States in failing to answer correspondence and to send the needed funds to cover the expenses of Harkins and others—especially Harkins--caused President Young to discontinue his efforts at Indian education. In an emotional letter written on January 15, 1857, a few weeks after Harkins had left Danville, Young informed the Commissioner that the young Choctaw was "not vicious, but indolent," not really prepared for college, and was "under a private tutor" during most of his time at Centre. Further, Harkins was "never supplied with funds" and always in a financial bind. Even if his allowance, Young wrote, had been . . . "promptly & regularly furnished /‾it_7 would not have kept him even economically. He ran considerably in debt, but he said his father would pay." No final accounting for Harkins at Centre was discovered. But President Young was very unhappy, informing the Commissioner that he was throwing in the sponge:

> I will not hereafter act as agent for any of these young Indians. The United States is too troublesome in settling accounts . . . . I do not take this trouble for any one--nor would I again even for pay. Please have my accounts settled one way or the others, as my health is delicate, & I wish to have all my business squared up.

One reason for the difficulties encountered by President Young and others in securing funds for the support of their Choctaw wards derived from a change which had occurred in the administration of the Forty Youth Fund. In November, 1853, the Choctaw General Council enacted a new school law designed to give the Nation better control of its educational system. The law provided for a general superintendent of schools who would serve as ex-officio "President of the Board of Trustees," which still consisted of one member from each of the three Choctaw districts. Peter P. Pitchlynn was the first "Supt Public Schools," as he styled himself in a letter of May 24, 1854. At the same time the Council enacted a law which provided that the:

> . . . interest accruing from the provisions of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, for the education of forty Choctaw youths . . . is hereby . . . placed under the control and management of the superintendent and trustees of the public schools in this Nation ... . .

While in Washington, on July 20, 1854, Pitchlynn and two others of a "Choctaw Delegation," Dickson W. Lewis and Samuel Garland, found it necessary to instruct George W. Manypenny, Commissioner appointed by President Franklin Pierce only a few months previously, concerning the responsibilities of the Choctaw Superintendent and Trustees. The Choctaw officials mentioned the origin of the Forty Youth Fund and stressed the fact that they desired not only to select the students but also the colleges to which they would be sent. They proposed that Superintendent Pitchlynn report to the Commissioner the names of the students chosen, the colleges to which they were sent, and the costs in each case. It was hoped that the Indian Office would then make payments directly to the schools when the college bills were presented by the Choctaw officials. The Commissioner was asked about proper forms for the presentation of such bills; but in spite of such requests, no system for insuring prompt payment of the college bills on time was ever developed at this time. Perhaps in desperation Pitchlynn began to present blanket bills for all the students, with the request that the total amount be sent to him to relay directly to the colleges. In the 1850s, for the first time since reports listing names of students were required from the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky, the Indian Office letters began to include fairly complete lists of students supported by the Forty Youth Fund. These lists were of necessity contained in the bills presented by Superintendent Pitchlynn to the Commissioner.

In 1848, the year that the five young Choctaws entered Delaware College, Pitchlynn had "assumed the role of guardian" for them, according to W. David Baird in his biography of Peter Pitchlynn. Pitchlynn's long interest in Choctaw education was intensified for this group, since the majority of the five, a son and two nephews, were from his own family. He continued to use his position, legalized by the 1853 school law, to educate members of his immediate family as well as other Choctaw youth. For example, a letter of January 14, 1852, from "Trustees of the Choctaw schools," P. P. Pitchlynn, Noel Gardner, and Thomson McKenney, to William Wilson, Choctaw Agent, recommended three young men as qualified to enroll in "some southern colleges." First on the list was Leonidas Pitchlynn, Peter's second son, whom he hoped to enroll in the University of North Carolina. The two others were Ely Peny, suggested for enrollment in "Lagrange College in the State of Alabama," and Clay Harkins, suggested for Centre College in Kentucky. No evidence has been found that these enrollments were ever completed.

During this time girls began to be educated under the benefits of the Forty Youth Fund. Undoubtedly some Choctaw young women were educated in the United States prior to this time at the expense of their parents, but the first mention of public support for female education in the states appeared among the Indian Office letters for 1854. A note from Pitchlynn and Dickson W. Lewis to the Commissioner on August 30 requested payments be made for the education of four students, two girls and two boys. Not unexpectedly, one of the young ladies was Mary R. Pitchlynn. The Commissioner was requested to remit $300 to Dr. A. Means of Oxford, Georgia, to pay for Mary's tuition, board, and other expenses at Southern Masonic Female College in Covington, Georgia. When Dr. Means was replaced as president of the Covington College by "Revd C. Fulton A. M.," Pitchlynn requested that funds for Mary be sent directly to President Fulton at Covington. In 1856 Mary transferred to Virginia Female Institute at Staunton where she apparently remained until 1858 before returning to the

Choctaw Nation. Mary was the family name for Pitchlynn's daughter Rhoda, whom David Baird reports as attending school first in Covington, Georgia, and then Staunton, Virginia. Lucy Walker was the second girl mentioned, and the request was that $300 be sent to Thomson McKenney at the Choctaw Agency to pay Lucy's expenses in school at Fayetteville, Arkansas. In November McKenney submitted a receipt showing that the money for Lucy had been paid to "P. R. Smith Esq" and "Miss Lucretia Foster" at Fayetteville.

The two young men listed in the August 30 letter were Nathaniel Folsom at Lebanon, Tennessee, and John Walker, Jr., at the "Upperville" Academy in Virginia. Each was to be furnished $225 through agents acting for the institutions they were attending. The following year Dickson Lewis requested that another $225 be forwarded to the "Rev. D. Lowry of Labenon /‾sic_7" for Nathaniel Folsom's education" and that this be paid annually until "otherwise ordered." Lebanon was the site of Cumberland University, but Folsom might have been enrolled in a preparatory school there. It is difficult to identify specific colleges from these lists, since institutions were rarely named. In addition several Choctaw youths were sent East for reasons other than higher education during the 1850s and the evidence is not always clear as to what funds were used. For example, Tecumseh McCann was supported at the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Columbus, Ohio, from 1854 through 1859 without indication of the source of income. Also, in 1853, an Act of the General Council authorized the Trustees to send "a number" of youth to Tennessee "to be practically instructed in mechanical trades." This was done, the Trustees borrowing money for the project and seeking reimbursement from the Orphans Fund. But the lists of names discovered in the available documents did not distinguish between college and non-college students.

Also, as mentioned previously, Pitchlynn and the Trustees began to make blanket requests for funds. A note of February 13, 1855, from Pitchlynn, "Supt of Choctaw Schools" and "Dickson W. Lewis, Trustee," to Commissioner George W. Manypenny is typical. The total request was $3,202.60 for education of Choctaw youth "fulfilling treaty with the Choctaws 20 art treaty Sept 1830." The list contained names of various prominent Choctaw mixed-blood families, specifically:

Miss M. Pitchlynn	$ 300
Miss M. E. Garland	300
Miss M. Wilson	300
Loring Harkins	225
Miss S. Folsom	250
Edward Nail	225
[Darius] Worcester	225
Edward McKenny	225
[Elisha] Walker	225
	$2275
Traveling expenses & outfit of the above named students & others	927.60
	$3202.60

All being for the scholastic year 1854 & 1855.

Other correspondence revealed names of a few of the institutions attended by the students listed above. Already mentioned were those in which Mary Pitchlynn enrolled. Mary Garland and Mary Wilson were her classmates at Southern Masonic Female College in Georgia, but apparently they did not transfer with her to Virginia Female Institute in 1856. Sophina Folsom was enrolled at a school in Lebanon, Tennessee, but the name of the institution was not given. Three of the boys, Loring Harkins, Edward Nail, and Darious Worcester, were also at Lebanon, possibly at Cumberland University. Edward McKenney was enrolled at Wesleyan University, Florence, Alabama, while Elisha Walker attended "Upperville"

Academy in or near Front Royal, Virginia. The students at Lebanon were under supervision of Rev. David Lowry, who found the $225 annual allowance for each student to be inadequate. Writing to Commissioner Manypenny on March 23, 1856, Lowry reported a deficit for the preceding year which he emphasized by underlining the sentence, "I have paid myself." He urged that the annual allowance per student be increased to $250 and this was done. Of course, some of the students, especially the young ladies, had already been receiving $300 or more; surely even that was not enough to cover all expenses and parents undoubtedly had to supplement the amounts needed for such items as clothing and incidental expenses.

On June 17, 1856, Pitchlynn presented an itemized statement to Commissioner Manypenny requesting $3,500 for the school year ending June 30, 1856. He suggested that the Commissioner send him the lump sum, which Pitchlynn proposed to distribute to the various institutions while holding himself accountable to the "Choctaw Nation for the proper application of the money." More than half the total, $1,925, went to support eight young men and Sophina Folsom at Lebanon, Tennessee. The additional five students under Lowry's supervision at Lebanon were Richard Harkins, Nathaniel Folsom, Napoleon B. Hudson, Joseph "Impoo-na," and Timothy Wright. Three were supported for a half-year at $125 each, five for the full year at $250 each, and Sophina Folsom for a year at $300. The request also included a half year for George W. Harkins at Centre, $125; another $300 for Thomas J. Bond, medical student at Louisville; $900 for the three Marys at Southern Masonic Female College in Georgia; and an additional $250 for travel expenses. Of this last item, $100 was requested by Pitchlynn for visiting the "children" and "disbursing" the money.

Still a fourth Mary was not mentioned in the blanket request for 1856, but money for her support was requested by two Pitchlynn letters in the fall of 1856. On September 3 he asked for $150 to go to "Connecticut for Miss Mary Dukes of the Choctaw Nation," because her father, "Capt. Dukes," wanted her to be placed in another institution, and "to meet other expenses incident to the education of youth of the tribe." On October 3 Pitchlynn requested that $600 be sent to him. Of this amount, $300 was designed to pay the expenses of Mary Dukes "for one year" at Oxford Female College in Ohio, while the remaining $300 supported his own daughter, Mary Rhoda, at Virginia Female Institute.

The largest annual amount requested by Pitchlynn, this time with Trustee Dickson W. Lewis as cosigner, was $4,422.54 for the school year ending June 30, 1857. This was to be used for eighteen students, as follows:

1.	Loring Harkin[s], Lebanon, Tenn	250	
2.	Napoleon B. Hudson " "	250	
3.	Richard Harkin[s] " "	250	
4.	Joseph Imponna " "	250	
5.	Darius Worcester " "	250	
6.	Geo W. Harkin[s] " "	250	
7.	David H. Winship " "	50	[sic]
8.	Miss Sophi[n]a Folsom" "	300	
9.	Timothy Wright " "	325	
10.	Miss Mary Wilson, Covington, Georgia	300	
11.	Thomas J. Bond, Philadelphia, Pa	200	
12.	Edward Nail, Murfreesboro, Tenn	250	
13.	Nathaniel Folsom, Princeton, Ky	250	
14.	Ed J. McKenney, Florence, Ala	125	
15.	Wm. H. Wall, Shelbyville, Tenn	125	
16.	James Riley, Oxford, Miss	200	
17.	Peter Harrell, Dangerfield [sic], Tex	200	
18.	Miss Malonia [?] McCurtain, Columbia, Tenn	211.60	
	To Rev David Lowry, as per account rendered & accepted by the Board of Trustees	75	
	[sub-total]	$4,111.60	
	To D. W. Lewis cash advanced to Wm. S. Patton, a Choctaw student Jackson College, Columbia Tenn	79.63	

To D. W. Lewis cash advanced to Wm. H. Wall, a Choctaw student, Shelbyville Tenn	31.31
To D. W. Lewis, traveling expenses in visiting these students and disbursing this money	200.00
[total]	$4,422.54

Other requisitions in 1857 included a request that $300 be sent to Dr. Henry R. Wilson, Sewickley, Pennsylvania, to pay for the schooling of Mary Dukes at Edgewood Seminary; Mary must have stayed in Ohio only one year. Another directed that $150 be sent to "Rev. Dickson W. Lewis" at Memphis to pay the travel expenses of "himself and several Choctaw youth, now on their way home." Still another of October 17, 1857, asked that $300 be sent to Basil Leflore, Doaksville, for the "educational and other expenses of his daughter [unnamed] at Paris, Texas."

In 1858 Pitchlynn's bills for payments from Choctaw college funds were somewhat smaller than those for the previous year. He requested $300 in February to pay for Thomas J. Bond's trip home from medical school in Philadelphia, along with the books, medicines, and surgical instruments with which to begin his practice at Boggy Depot. The letter also asked for $65 each to pay the expenses of Richard and Loring Harkins on their trip home from Tennessee. In April the Choctaw superintendent presented a statement for $3,854.58 covering seventeen items. Only nine of the eighteen students listed in 1857 were repeated in 1858. Presumably the others had gone home, seven from Lebanon, and Thomas J. Bond and Malonia McCurtain. However, the names of three new students appeared, those of Joseph Crowder at Lebanon and of James "Fulsom" and Joseph Lawrence at an unspecified location. Also included in the $3,854.58 statement were $156.75 for unpaid accounts of David Winship at Lebanon; an item for $121.50 described as "Unpaid acc at Lebanon & McMinnville, Tenn"; and $100 "Traveling expenses" for Mary R. Pitchlynn.

Pitchlynn experienced difficulty in making proper accounting of disbursements from Choctaw school funds from the beginning of the blanket requests. He carried the "Choctaw School account" with the banking firm of Sutter, Lea, and Company in Washington, in which was also deposited Pitchlynn's personal account, and charges were made that funds designed for student use were diverted to other purposes by Pitchlynn. As a result, Pitchlynn was charged with misconduct and misuse of the school funds but nothing was ever proved. In fact, he retained the confidence of a majority of the Nation and was elected principal chief in 1864 for a two-year term.

The superintendent made a few requests in 1858 in addition to the one for $3,854.58. On July 24 he asked for $250 for Claudius Kincaid to attend Wesleyan University at Florence, Alabama; on August 11 he sought $300 to pay the expenses for Nathaniel Folsom, Edward Nail, and Mary Dukes "in going home"; and on October 26 he requested that $619 be sent directly to Henry R. Wilson, principal of Edgewood Seminary at Sewickley, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh. This last amount, Pitchlynn reported was "due for the education" of Mary Dukes ($166.38), Jennie Austin ($113.04), and Sophia Woods ($139.16) and also included $200.42 as "Advance for the next session." "Jennie" or Jane Austin, one of the three girls at Edgewood Seminary, became one of the most prominent women of the Choctaw Nation during its twilight years. Her influence on the Nation was exerted, not only as the wife of Chief Jackson McCurtain, the sister-in-law to two other chiefs, and the niece of a fourth chief, but as a teacher. Her most important position in Choctaw education was that of superintendent of Jones Academy, a boys boarding school near Hartshorne, from 1894 until 1898. Miss Sue McBeth, a missionary who met Jane at Wheelock in

September, 1860, just after her return from the Pennsylvania school, described her as a "neatly dressed and lady like girl . . . ." Miss McBeth continued that Jane was "one of the most promising" young ladies of the Choctaw Nation, whose expenses in the East had been paid through an "appropriated college fund," and who was thereby obligated to return and teach her people. The three young ladies at Edgewood and the three young men, Claudius Kincaid, Edwin McKinney, and James Riley, at Wesleyan University in Florence, Alabama, were the last students named in Pitchlynn's correspondence with the Indian Office concerning the Forty Youth Fund. In fact, only one letter was discovered from Pitchlynn in the education files after 1858. Dated March 14, 1859, this letter from Pitchlynn and Peter Folsom, "Choctaw Delegation" in Washington, advised the Commissioner, C. E. Mix at the time, as to the best procedure to follow for payment of outstanding debts incurred by students in the states.

These unpaid bills were primarily for Claudius Kincaid, Edwin McKenney, and James Riley at Wesleyan University in Alabama, and Edward J. Nail and Nathaniel Folsom at Bethel College, Russellville, Kentucky. Correspondence of July, 1858, from President R. H. Rivers of Wesleyan, revealed that the three Choctaw students mentioned above had been brought to Wesleyan "during 1857" by Rev. Dickson W. Lewis. The college trustees had granted the Choctaw students their tuition and they had done well, especially Riley and Kincaid. Lewis had promised that funds would be sent to pay for their board and clothing, but no money had been received. At the close of the year their board remained unpaid as well as bills to merchants who had furnished their clothing and other necessities. In desperation both Rivers and the Alabama merchants involved wrote to the

Commissioner and asked such questions as: "Can you give me any information in reference to the funds for defraying their expenses?" Or, "Has the nation any funds at your disposal, & can you appropriate them to this purpose?" Although not as well documented, a similar situation had developed at Bethel College in Kentucky and elsewhere. The year 1859 arrived and still these accounts remained unsettled, although most of these students had already returned to the Choctaw Nation.

Under the circumstances the officials involved, of both the United States and the Choctaw Nation, turned to Pitchlynn for some explanation or solution. Governor Tandy Walker, chief executive of the Choctaw Nation under a new and controversial constitution produced at Skullyville in 1857, wrote to Pitchlynn early in 1859 about the debts not only of the Governor's brother, Elisha Walker, "who went to school in Virginia," but also of several other students with unpaid bills. Pitchlynn in turn, by a letter of March 14, 1859, referred to above, wrote the Commissioner about the "embarrassing situation" which had developed because of lack of money to meet the "outstanding liabilities" against the Choctaw Nation on "account of scholars sent to the States" to be educated. Pitchlynn and his cosigner, Peter Folsom, suggested to the Commissioner that $3,000 be sent to Elias Rector at Fort Smith "to enable Govr. Walker to meet the liabilities in question." Rector was in charge of the Southern Superintendency, which at this time had supervision of the Five Civilized Tribes and other Indians in their vicinity. Pitchlynn was well informed as to the amounts owed and to whom. He stated that Walker had received bills to a total of $2300 and observed that they were "very likely . . . larger by this time." Further, Pitchlynn knew that bills were owed at Shelbyville and Columbia, Tennessee, and at Florence, Alabama, and that the man who "held the account" of $800 against Elisha Walker was "out West living in the Creek Nation . . . ."

As far as can be determined from available evidence, most of these bills were finally paid. Since the Choctaw Nation was involved, Superintendent Rector turned the problem over to Douglas H. Cooper, agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws. On October 11, 1859, Cooper wrote to Rector from Fort Washita that the accounts of Kincaid, McKenney, and Riley at Florence, Alabama, had "mostly and perhaps all been provided for . . . ." Cooper stated that Kennedy McCurtain, school trustee for Mushulatubbee District, had remitted funds to James Riley, one of the students, who had acknowledged receiving the money and had stated that it was sufficient. At the same time Cooper notified Rector that funds were available to cover the past due accounts of Edward Nail and Nathaniel Folsom at Bethel College, Russellville, Kentucky, and that those debts would also be paid.

In 1861 the program of higher education for Choctaw youth as financed through the Forty Youth Fund came to a halt. The immediate cause, of course, was the outbreak of the Civil War and the consequent withdrawal of troops, money, and general support from the Choctaw Nation by the United States government. Also, the Choctaw people had begun to question the program, because of the rumors that its funds were being misused and that many of the students wasted the money by extravagant living. Many believed that their national funds would be better spent for neighborhood schools, which would educate the mass of their children and not an elite few, mostly mixed bloods. Looking back more than a century later, however, the total impact of the Forty Youth Fund program in furnishing educated leadership for the Choctaw people is very impressive.

Peter J. Hudson, a prominent Choctaw educator and official, while employed by the Oklahoma Historical Society in the early 1930s, attempted to compile an alphabetical "List of Choctaw Students Attending Schools in the States." Necessarily incomplete, Hudson's "List" totaled 466 names. Of that number, which covered the period from 1825 until the dissolution of the Choctaw Nation in 1906, more than 41%, or 192, attended the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky before 1842 and included the names of men who served the Choctaw Nation in many and various capacities. When names like those of Allen Wright were included after 1842 and those of Choctaw women such as Jane Austin began to appear as beneficiaries of the Forty Youth Fund during the 1850s, the impact of the Fund in preparing Choctaw leaders of both sexes became inescapable. The Forty Youth program was renewed in 1869 following the Civil War, when twenty students were supported at colleges in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and Texas. Eleven of the twenty were men, the remainder women. So that if the Choctaws had entertained doubts about the value of the program in the late 1850s, these misgivings were erased by the passage of time and Choctaw students continued to be sent to college at national expense until the dissolution of the Choctaw Nation just before Oklahoma statehood.

XII

SCHOOLS! SCHOOLS! SCHOOLS!

During the years following 1842, after the boarding academies and seminaries had been established as the backbone of the Choctaw school system, the neighborhood and Sunday schools were the stepchildren of Choctaw education. When money was in short supply, the boarding schools were funded at the expense of the elementary schools. In fact, the laws setting legal ages for students at the male academies at ten to sixteen years and for the female seminaries at eight to fourteen years were not strictly observed. Students as young as four years and older than twenty-one were sometimes reported, and the shortage of elementary schools to prepare scholars for entrance to the boarding schools promoted this evasion of the school laws regarding maximum and minimum ages. Funds for the "District" schools, provided by the Treaty of 1830, and the "United States" schools, financed by Article II of the Treaty of 1825, had been siphoned off to help finance the boarding schools when they were established. It became a matter of priorities to the Choctaw leaders, who met the needs of the boarding schools first and then applied any left-over funds for support of neighborhood schools. This practice violated the democratic ideal that an elementary school be available to the children of each Choctaw neighborhood. Ideally, the most promising elementary pupils would be advanced to the next level, boarding school, and the brightest products of the secondary level would then be sent to college in the United States. Lack of funds prevented the Choctaw Nation from even coming close to this ideal before 1861, but some progress was made in that direction.

In 1841, as the Choctaw Nation was ending its support for the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky and moving toward establishment of the nine boarding schools within its own national boundaries, local interest in neighborhood schools was at a low ebb and most of the few in existence were located in Apukshunnubbee District where the majority of the mission stations of the American Board were clustered. Concerning the three District Schools, each supported by $833.33 from the $2,500 authorized annually by Article XX of the Treaty of 1830, Agent William Armstrong was noncommittal in his 1841 report to the Commissioner. Of H. G. Rind's Apukshunnubbee District school at "Pleasant Retreat near Shawneetown" the Agent commented only that Rind had "a small school" and listed the enrollment as fifteen. Rind informed Armstrong that his school had an irregular attendance of twenty-two--eight girls and fourteen boys--but that his average attendance was only fifteen, and added the following opinion: "I believe a much greater amount of good would be produced to the Nation by having female schools [to teach] mental branches [as well as] housekeeping, needlework, &c." Ironically, Rind's school was later discontinued and the $833.33 annual support was applied, not for a girls' school, but to support Norwalk Academy, a school for boys.

In this same year, 1841, Armstrong reported that the Pushmataha District school, taught by Ramsay D. Potts at Providence in a "neighborhood thinly settled," had an enrollment of twenty-two, but failed to specify the numbers of male and female students. The $833.33 used to support this school was applied to the support of Armstrong Academy when Potts became superintendent of that institution in 1843. A "tolerably good school" was Armstrong's judgment concerning the Mushulatubbee

District school taught by William Wilson in 1841 at the Choctaw Agency. Unlike other neighborhood schools of the period, Wilson reportedly taught Latin and Greek to his more advanced pupils. It will be remembered that when Wilson moved to Spencer Academy in 1842 as principal teacher, his annual stipend of $833.33 accompanied him and continued for some years as part of the funding for that institution. Thus the support for the three district neighborhood schools established by the Treaty of 1830 was absorbed into the funds used by the boarding schools.

Also in 1841, Armstrong reported only four local schools supported by funds from the Treaty of 1825 and usually referred to as "United States" schools. Two of these, at Mayhew and Goodwater, were in Pushmataha District. Taught by Tryphena Wall, the Mayhew school served twenty-four pupils on weekdays and forty-five in the weekend Sunday school during a term of ten months. Tryphena was a precocious seventeen-year-old Choctaw mixed blood, daughter of Noah and Lucy Folsom Wall. Born in Mississippi about 1824, her education began at age four at Mayhew, the second mission established by Cyrus Kingsbury among the Choctaws east of the Mississippi. After removal, Kingsbury in 1839 organized a church near Noah Wall's home which the missionary also named Mayhew, and it was at this site, north of the present Boswell, that Tryphena taught her school in 1841. The Goodwater school, also in operation for ten months, listed "E. Hotchkin" as the teacher of nineteen daily pupils and twenty on Sunday. Other reports indicate that the teacher was actually Mrs. Philena Thatcher Hotchkin. In neither of these reports nor in any others, for that matter, was it clear as to whether the weekend enrollments included the regular daily pupils. The other two "United States" schools, at Clear Creek, east of Fort Towson, and at

Eagletown were in Apukshunnubbee District. No length of term and no Sunday school was reported for Clear Creek, but twenty-six was given as the number of pupils taught there by John T. W. Lewis. "Lavinia" Pitchlynn, seventeen-year-old daughter of Peter P. Pitchlynn, taught twenty-five students daily for a term of seven and one half months at Eagletown. Thirty was the number in Sunday school there. No "United States" school was reported for Mushulatubbee District in 1841.

The most complete report from the four "United States" schools was made by Tryphena Wall from Mayhew in August, 1841. By boarding six students, she wrote, the enrollment had reached twenty-four. Further, she listed the subjects taught and the number studying each, to wit: history, 2; English Grammar, 1; airthmetic, 11; geography, 8; writing, 11; "Reading in Testaments, spelling," 14; "Words of 3 syllables," 2; words of "3 & 4 letters," 4. Miss Wall then noted, "I think the scholars have learned well, notwithstanding we have not had a supply of books, if you could forward us some books, they would be very acceptable." She found an "increasing disposition to learn to read" an encouraging development in her "Sabbath School," especially among her adult pupils.

After Tryphena's marriage to Charles F. Stewart on May 9, 1842, she continued teaching at Mayhew until December. When pregnancy caused her to discontinue her work, the term was completed by John P. Kingsbury, son of Cyrus Kingsbury. He reported an enrollment of thirty-six, of whom seventeen were girls. Of the thirty-six scholars, Kingsbury noted that "only six spoke English," all of whom were mixed bloods. No English was spoken by thirteen other mixed bloods or the seventeen full bloods enrolled. The average attendance was only nineteen. Writing from Eagletown about the same time, Lavinia Pitchlynn reported fifteen "regular scholars" in an enrollment of twenty-five, most of whom "behaved well." Lavinia told the Agent that she had "had the assistance of Mrs. Byington," who undoubtedly aided her in maintaining school discipline. Like Tryphena Wall, Lavinia appealed for books. Needed particularly, she said, were texts for spelling, reading, writing, and geography.

Thus Armstrong in 1841 was responsible for only seven schools--three "District" and four "United States"--with a total enrollment of 163 daily and ninety-five on the weekends. None of the district schools, by the way, operated a weekend school. When the fifty-two boys still at the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky are added to the above total, it is seen that only two or three hundred Choctaw youth were being educated with national funds in 1841. An additional 157 were attending six American Board schools, however, according to a note from Cyrus Byington to Armstrong on August 4, 1841. These were all located in Apukshunnubbee District, at or near mission stations of the American Board, and were coeducational. Each of the six also conducted a Sunday school, whose reported enrollment is enclosed by parentheses in the following list:

Site	Term	Teacher	Enrollment	
Pine Ridge	8 months	Mrs. Electa M. Kingsbury	18	(14)
Wheelock	9 months, 1 week	Sarah Kerr	48	(48)
Red River	7 months	Anna Burnham	42	(30)
Boktuklo	3 months	Mrs. Anna Folsom	8	(8)
Lukfata	3½ months	Mrs. Nancy Durker	14	(14)
Mountain Fork	4½ months	(A. D. Jones (G. S. Gaines (Mrs. J. N. Byington (Electa McClure	27	(40)
		Total	157	(154)

At Mountain Fork the two male teachers, Jones and Gaines, taught two and a half months, while Mrs. Byington and Miss McClure were in charge for the succeeding two months of school. No explanation was forthcoming for either the shortness of the term or the change in teachers. When the 157 taught in the American Board schools are added to those receiving instruction in the government-supported institutions, the total is far short of universal public education for all Choctaw children, the goal which their leadership hoped to attain.

The need for textbooks, stressed by Tryphena Wall, Lavinia Pitchlynn, and others, led Agent Armstrong to ask Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford on October 6, 1841, to send the Choctaw schools a "good bill of books." The agent suggested to the Commissioner that if sufficient Choctaw money was not available, perhaps funds could be allocated from the Indian Civilization Fund. Armstrong's list contained the following items:

24 Doz--Webster Spelling Books
3 " --Walkers School Dictionaries
4 " --Maury's English Grammars
6 " --Parley's Geographies
4 " --[Watts? Bruns?] School Geography and Atlas
4 " --Smiley's Arithmeticks
1 " --Day's Algebra
1 " --Ditto Mathematicks
1 " --Blakes Natural Philosophy
1 " --Ditto Chimistry
4 " --Parleys 1st 2^d & 3^d books of history (each)
4 " --Parley's lives of Columbus, Franklin and other distinguished individuals
6 " --Parleys Readers 1st 2^d & 3^d
6 " --Clark [?] Readers 1st 2^d & 3^d
1 " --Postons [?] Reader
3 " --National Readers
1 " --American first class books with any other improved class books you may think proper to select

Probably Armstrong's chief adviser in compiling this book order was William Wilson, teacher of the District School at the Choctaw Agency and for whose judgment in educational matters the Agent had great respect.

By the time Armstrong's 1841 textbook order, listed above, was received, presuming the Commissioner was able to fulfill the request, the

Choctaw Nation was well on its way to assuming responsibility for the operation of its own national school system. Choctaw control, however, was never completely unrestricted. Funding of their schools was complicated by the fact that the Choctaw money was held in trust by the United States Treasury. Thus, even after appropriations were made by the Choctaw General Council, requests had to be routed through the United States bureaucracy, which for various reasons often delayed and sometimes prevented payment of claims. The inadequate, but better than nothing, system of "District" and "United States" schools instituted soon after removal and controlled by the United States agent was phased out with the passage of the Public School Act of 1842. As previously noted, money used for support of the three District Schools was applied to the support of Spencer, Armstrong, and Norwalk academies. These payments ceased in the early 1850s when the Office of Indian Affairs decided that the twenty-year period specified by the Treaty of 1830 had expired. Funds for support of the "United States" schools had dried up long before this. In November, 1843, Agent William Armstrong informed the Commissioner that:

> The other teacherships under the treaty of 1825 have expired by limitation, and are only supported from funds remaining on hand. These schools are expected to close with this year.

Peter Pitchlynn had informed Armstrong in December, 1842, that the Choctaw Council desired to use any balance remaining from the "United States" school fund for support of the aborted Nanih Waya Academy. The ultimate fate of the residue from this fund was not discovered, but it undoubtedly was used for support of Choctaw education. In any case, after 1842 government support for all phases of Choctaw education, except the Forty Youth Fund, began with appropriations made by the Choctaw General Council.

For some years after 1842, the chief effort to operate local schools was made by Apukshunnubbee District but it was rather limited. Mushulatubbee was the most backward of the three Choctaw districts in promoting neighborhood and Sabbath schools, and the situation in Pushmataha District was not much better. In fact, an act of the General Council in October, 1840, had authorized the sale to the highest bidder of two "Public School Houses in Mushulitubbi District," one at Pleasant Spring and the other "near Col. McKinney's." The proceeds of the sale were to be turned over to the "District Clerk as District funds." By contrast, in 1843 the leaders of Apukshunnubbee District seized the opportunity to finance several neighborhood and Sabbath schools when Armstrong Academy was funded. In that year, the Council appropriated $2900 for the support of Armstrong. At the same time it approved $1300, the residue of the total amount originally intended for Nanih Waya Academy, to support "neighborhood and sabbath schools" in Apukshunnubbee District. The Council then passed an act which specified that since Apukshunnubbee District had "drawn" $1300 which otherwise would have been available to Armstrong Academy, ". . . she shall only be entitled to the balance of her proportion of students that shall enter Armstrong Academy according to population." Interpreted, this meant that the number of students entitled to enroll at Armstrong from Apukshunnubbee District was reduced by some unspecified number, and the statement was so confusing that probably no attempt was ever made to enforce it. At least no evidence of such enforcement was discovered.

This $1300 was distributed in Apukshunnubbee District as follows. Almost half of the total was assigned to two schools, one in "John Robinson's" neighborhood and the other for an American Board school at

Norwalk. This was two years prior to passage of the law making Norwalk a boarding academy for boys. The school near John Robinson's was assigned $300 and put under supervision of the "Methodist Missionary Board"; Norwalk, managed by the American Board, also was granted $300. A committee to select the site for the school "near John Robinson's" included Rev. John M. Steele, a Methodist missionary, and Peter P. Pitchlynn, Forbis Leflore, and Basil L. Leflore, prominent mixed-blood Choctaws. The annual list of appointments of the Indian Mission Conference, organized by the Methodists in 1844, began to carry the name of the minister assigned to the Robinson school. At first it was given as "Robertson Neighborhood School" or "Robeson School," but beginning in 1849 was called "Choctaw Academy." In 1853, the "Choctaw Academy" appointment began to be followed by the phrase "to be supplied," and after 1856 mention ceased altogether.

Of the $700 remaining after funding Norwalk and the school near John Robinson's, only $600 was actually appropriated. This was done in the amount of "Fifty dollars to each of the following Choctaw Sabbath Schools," twelve in all. They were each identified in the law as follows:

1. Kowaiille [sic], Walnut Grove, near James Harkins'
2. Oka Homa, near Capt. Hoyubbi's
3. Chickasawha on Red River
4. Saktichaha, near Col. James Fletcher's
5. Chuwahla, near Edmund McKinney's
6. Kiamichi, near Capt. George Pusley's
7. Nashoba, near Capt. Wolf's
8. Glover's Fork, near Capt. Ishtaya's, near Janubbi [sic]
9. Fisk's near the Public Shop
10. Clear Creek School, near Aaron's
11. Yakni Achukma, near James Garland's
12. Apehka, near Capt. Shoney's

Appropriations for these schools were continued, at least through 1846. No evidence of their funding was discovered, however, for succeeding years. The 1844 appropriation, included in a total school appropriation of $13,000, provided $1,200 for "Neighborhood and Sabbath Schools, in Apakshunubbi District" and the remainder for the boarding schools. The 1843 law had provided that each of the twelve Sabbath school neighborhoods should appoint its own trustees to select teachers, make annual reports to the General Council, and supervise the general operation of its school. These local committees did not perform well and a law was passed on October 15, 1846, which provided for a single committee to oversee the performance of all the Sabbath schools in the District. This committee, consisting of G. W. Harkins, John Lake, and Allen Carney was authorized:

> . . . to receive such portion of /the/ thirteen hundred dollars for 1845 and 1846, for the support of the Sabbath Schools, and also to examine the claims and accounts of those Sabbath Schools and pay them according to the labours they have performed; and the balance, if any remains, shall remain in the hands of the Committee until otherwise appropriated.

A law passed in October, 1848, included both Mushulatubbee and Pushmataha districts in the annual appropriation for "neighborhood and Sabbath schools." The total amount was only $1,000, of which more than half, $555.56, was assigned to Apukshunnubbee District and $222.22 to each of the other two districts.

The work done by the Sabbath schools was important in promoting the educational progress of the Choctaws, especially in teaching adults to read their native language. But it was not truly a system of elementary schools and did not serve the whole nation uniformly. In fact, the Sabbath schools were obviously concentrated in the southeast corner of the Apukshunnubbee District. In July, 1845, Alfred Wright informed Agent

William Armstrong that seven of the twelve Sabbath schools established by the National Council in the District were "within the sphere of the evangelical labors" of Wright's station at Wheelock. He stated that they reached 250 to 300 learners, being taught "on Saturday, also" in both English and Choctaw. Another important effect of the Sabbath schools was that they whetted the Choctaw appetite for education among the adults and roused among the people generally a desire to provide greater educational opportunities for all children throughout the Choctaw Nation. It became obvious almost from the time of their establishment that this goal could not be reached through the boarding schools alone. On October 20, 1846, this point was made by William Armstrong in a note to Commissioner Medill. Armstrong observed that although their school fund was comparatively large, it was expended so that it actually served the educational needs of only one tenth of the Choctaw children. The number of applicants to the boarding schools, which received the lion's share of the school funds, Armstrong noted, greatly exceeded the number of students the schools could accommodate. As a result, he concluded, the selections made by the Trustees became "exceedingly delicate" so that too often they appointed students "beyond the proper age" and broke their own rules in other ways.

As a result of the recognized need for elementary instruction, subscription schools began to appear. Samuel M. Rutherford, who became Choctaw Agent after the death of William Armstrong in June, 1847, was much impressed by the educational effort being made by the Choctaw people. Concerning the school reports received at the close of the 1847-1848 school year, Rutherford wrote Commissioner Medill that:

> It all proves that their moral, social, and religious condition is unquestionably improving. A respectable number of small schools are established, and taught by natives, in different parts of the nation.

He then quoted Cyrus Kingsbury as stating that the Choctaws generally showed a "great desire" for the education of their children. Among other missionaries cited by Rutherford in support of his conclusions were Ramsay D. Potts and Ebenezer Hotchkin. Potts wrote that the people in the vicinity of Armstrong Academy had evinced a ". . . desire to receive instruction, and have, of their own accord, established a Saturday and Sabbath school taught by a native."

In a long letter of July 7, 1848, Hotchkin detailed school developments in the Good Water neighborhood during the previous year. His station at Good Water, he informed the new agent, served an area ten or twelve miles wide and forty miles long. Services were held "almost every Sabbath" in four locations, three of which had "houses to meet in" while the "open air" sufficed for the fourth. Saturday and Sabbath schools had been commenced where the three houses were available. According to Hotchkin, seventy or eighty "learners" attended school each weekend, the expenses being paid by individual subscriptions. On any weekend men thirty or thirty-five years old could be seen sitting with children, some aged only seven or eight, "learning to read their own language." Many were "determined to learn something," the missionary declared, if not English then Choctaw. He believed the effects of the weekend schools had "so far been good," since Choctaw minds were turned away from their "former habits and customs," not only drinking, but the dancing and ball playing which was quite likely to occupy the time of a Choctaw on Saturday or Sunday. Hotchkin declared that he would not deny the Indians "their pastimes" but merely recommended those activities which "would elevate them." The schools, he noted, tended "to instruct and elevate" the mind and concluded with this judgment:

> From twenty years close observation on the habits and manners of this people, I can truly say that the 'ball stick and the violin' have done very little towards civilizing or Christianizing them.

When the Department of the Interior was created in March, 1849, the Office of Indian Affairs was removed from the War Department and made a part of the newly organized branch. There it has remained until the present as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The first officials of the Interior Department, appointed by the newly elected President Zachary Taylor, included Orlando Brown as Commissioner of Indian Affairs and John Drennen as "Acting Superintendent of the Western Territory" and Agent to the Choctaws. From the beginning of his tenure as Agent, Drennen's correspondence with Commissioner Brown showed his interest in broadening the base of the Choctaw school system. Drennen was quite impressed by a meeting in early September, 1849, when the "chiefs, captains, and principal men" of Mushulatubbee District made many speeches concerning the need for neighborhood schools and instruction in agriculture and practical subjects. He added that tuition schools had already been established in several neighborhoods, supported by pledges from parents "as amongst the white people." The desire for schools was such, the Agent continued, that people in several other settlements were also "building schoolhouses and employing the teachers at their own expense."

Agent Drennen also mentioned an appropriation of $4,500 by the General Council in October, 1849, "to aid in the establishment of neighborhood schools." This sum, he said, had just been awarded to the

Choctaws by the President on a claim held by them against the Chickasaws. Any actual use of these funds for neighborhood schools was not found; possibly something went awry so that it never became available. In any case, subscription schools seem to have been the chief means for supplying elementary education to the neighborhoods for several years after 1849. Representative of a tuition school catering primarily to white and mixed-blood children at Fort Towson and Doaksville in 1849 and 1850 was one taught by Samuel Corley. His advertisement in the Choctaw Telegraph at Doaksville, for August 30, 1849, read:

> School at Fort Towson.
>
> The subscriber takes this method of informing all whom it may concern, that his School will reopen the first Monday in Sept. next.
>
> Terms: Orthography, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, ten dollars per session of five months.
>
> English Grammar, Geography, Philosophy &c. &c., fifteen dollars.
>
> The morals of the students will be particularly attended [sic] to, as they are considered much more important than any mental endowment whatever; yet the latter will not be neglected.
>
> The discipline of the School will be mild, but decided.
>
> The Rod will never be resorted to, if mild and persuasive measures will do; but if they fail, such a course will then be adopted, as shall establish discipline, and secure obedience.

It is unlikely that many Choctaw parents of that day could have afforded Mr. Corley's tuition rates or, in most cases, any tuition at all. Like church pledges, many tuition pledges made for support of the neighborhood schools probably went unpaid. But in the absence of government financing, more and more subscription schools, both weekday and weekend, were established. The majority of these were in the neighborhood of mission churches, and likely some schools went unreported because of the lack of a church connection. The Choctaw Agent often reported vaguely, as did Agent William Wilson in September, 1851, that, "The neighborhood schools have been doing well, though I have received reports from none of the teachers, as they are not under my control, and are mostly native Choctaws." Also in September, 1851, Alfred Wright noted that in his region a number of Choctaw schools were "taught by natives . . . mostly on Saturday and the Sabbath." Most of these, Wright said, were supported by a small appropriation from the Choctaw Council and probably included many of those listed earlier for Apukshunnubbee District. But several were supported "wholly by the people themselves." Whether supported by the government or not, Mr. Wright stated that all taught reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic, "most in the Choctaw language." Word of existence of these schools often appeared in mission reports but without details. In August, 1851, Cyrus Kingsbury wrote that in "connexion" with three churches, Doaksville, Mayhew, and Bennington, three Saturday and Sabbath schools and "one other continued through the week" had been "taught by Choctaws." At the same time Alfred Wright reported that Cyrus Byington's mission at Eagletown was serving three thousand Choctaws in an area roughly thirty by sixty miles in dimension. Here, Wright said, were several Saturday and Sunday schools and one neighborhood school.

In June, 1852, Ebenezer Hotchkin made a cogent statement as to the burgeoning interest in local education evinced by the Choctaws in his vicinity:

> The subject of education may be termed the great subject among the Choctaws. Schools! Schools! Schools! sound on the ear wherever I go. Inquiries are often made--'When can you give us a school-teacher?' 'Are you not partial in your gifts?' 'Why not give us a school as well as to the others?' 'Are not our children as needy as others? Have we not as many? Then why so

> partial, &c.?' 'Is your board acquainted with our situation? Will you not write them to send us out a teacher?' These and similar questions are often put to me. I could in this vicinity, and at the present time, employ two or three teachers if I could get them; and if they could be obtained, the people would help support them.

Hotchkin may have exaggerated the Choctaw demand for education somewhat, and possibly the desire was not so intense in other areas as he perceived it to be in the neighborhood of Good Water; but the available evidence indicates that his hyperbole was not far from the mark. In September, 1852, Alfred Wright reported to William Wilson, Choctaw Agent, that the Saturday and Sunday schools in the Wheelock area were "maintained with unabated interest" and "productive of much good." In the same letter Wright noted that four new books printed in Choctaw had been received and distributed to schools in his area. These were: (1) a portion of the Old Testament "from Joshua to the First of Kings"; (2) Gallaudet's Sacred Biography, "abridged, as far as through the Life of Moses"; (3) a Choctaw Definer published by "Mr. Byington"; and (4) some "questions on the Gospels of Mark and Luke, with brief explanations of difficult passages." Besides these publications, Wright stated in another connection that the Choctaws already had "in their own language" such items as: the complete New Testament; the Westminster Shorter Catechism; a number of religious tracts on Christian doctrines and duties; biographical sketches of pious Indians; ". . . other reading matter, all of a strictly moral tendency"; and an Arithmetic which covered "ground rules, . . . simple and compound vulgar and decimal fractions, mensuration, interest, &c." At the close of the 1851-1852 school year, Cyrus Kingsbury stated that "liberal subscriptions" had been raised for the support of "neighborhood schools" at Bennington and Mayhew. At the same time

C. C. Copeland reported from his Mount Pleasant mission station north of Bennington that a teacher had opened a school there in April with an enrollment of eighteen. In July, 1853, Copeland reported the reestablishment of two schools previously abandoned east of Bennington, namely, Pigeon Roost and Wilmington. At the latter place, he noted that the people had contributed about $250 "in property for a [day] school" and also had employed a "native" to teach a Saturday and Sabbath school in the Choctaw language.

As a result of the election of 1852, Douglas H. Cooper, a Mississippian and relative of Jefferson Davis, was appointed United States Agent for the Choctaws. On September 3, 1853, after he had been in the Choctaw country about three months, Cooper wrote a perceptive letter concerning the state of Choctaw education as he found it. Addressed to Thomas S. Drew, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Superintendency, at Van Buren, Cooper's letter stated that:

> . . . common or neighborhood schools are greatly needed, in order that the mass of Choctaw children may at least be taught to read and write.
>
> The academies are justly the pride of this nation, and deserve the fostering care of its national council; but, at the same time, the cause of education would be rapidly advanced if aid were extended by [the United States government] for establishment of a system of common schools among the Indians. These primary schools should, and soon would, furnish pupils for the academies and high schools.

Cooper also lamented the deficiency of the Choctaws generally in "knowledge of the mechanic arts," although taught to a limited extent in some schools, and further mentioned the need for blacksmith shops for repair of farm implements, noting at the same time that agriculture, and its instruction, was actually "discouraged" in some places.

Cooper pinpointed the two basic needs of Choctaw education: a truly comprehensive system of elementary schools to teach the "mass" of children to read and write, and the necessity for more instruction in the mechanic arts and agriculture. His suggestion that Federal money be advanced fell on deaf bureaucratic ears, and both Cooper and the Choctaw leadership continued to search for funds with which to finance establishment of additional neighborhood schools. Only a few months before Cooper took office, moved by dissatisfaction with the administration of the Forty Youth Fund and the need to finance neighborhood schools, the Choctaw General Council in November, 1852, passed an act appropriating the "residue" of funds granted for the "education of forty Choctaw youth," under Article XX of the Treaty of 1830, for the support of neighborhood schools "in the three districts of this Nation." This "residue" had been "loaned" to the United States and yielded an unspecified amount of annual interest. The Act provided, however, that students already in college could remain and "be supported" until they had completed their education. As we have seen, quite a few college students continued to receive support until the outbreak of the Civil War. The Commissioner, however, because of the wording of Article XX, questioned the legality of using Forty Youth Fund money for any purpose other than that specified by the Treaty of 1830. Further, in spite of repeated requests, the Choctaws were never informed as to the exact amount of the "residue" and no assistance for neighborhood schools was ever developed from the Forty Youth Fund.

Another possible source of money for neighborhood schools was the so-called "Orphan Fund," which also derived from the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Article XIX of that Treaty specified that each Choctaw orphan at the time of removal, who would not otherwise receive help as a member of a particular family, would be:

> . . . entitled to a quarter section of Land, to be located under direction of the President, and with his consent the same may be sold and the proceeds applied to some beneficial purpose for the benefit of said orphans.

By 1852 several thousand dollars had accumulated in this Fund, little or none was being used for orphans, and the Council needed money for neighborhood schools. Therefore, the fall session of the Council in 1852 not only tried to use the Forty Youth Fund for local schools but also passed an act to transfer the "residue" of the Orphan Fund to the support of neighborhood schools. Entitled "An Act appropriating unclaimed Orphan Fund," the law stated that an unexpended balance remaining from the sale of orphan lands was in the "hands of Mr. William Wilson, Agent to the Choctaws." Further, since the fund belonged "to claimants or their representatives who cannot be identified," the Council appropriated the balance "to pay the neighborhood school teachers" in the Nation. The share for each of the three districts was to be determined according to population. To safeguard the rights of possible unidentified orphans, the Council promised to refund their claims when and if any were ever made.

On December 28, 1852, Agent Wilson sent Commissioner Luke Lea a copy of the Act providing that the Orphan Fund be used for common schools; it was accompanied by Wilson's recommendation that the Commissioner approve the action of the Council. Stating that he knew of no "other object to which the money . . . could be more properly applied," Wilson cited as precedent that the Creek Nation had just done the same thing. As a result of the Election of 1852, however, Wilson was soon replaced as Agent to the Choctaws by Douglas H. Cooper, and incidentally, Luke Lea as Commissioner by George W. Manypenny; so that, partly because of this change in personnel, no progress was made toward use of either the Forty Youth or Orphan funds for common schools. As previously noted, Cooper perceived the need for more elementary schools in the Choctaw educational system and also endorsed the effort to use both the Forty Youth and Orphan funds to finance Choctaw neighborhood schools. But the transfer of both funds was blocked by official reluctance in Washington.

The same arguments that had been used against transfer of the Forty Youth Fund were advanced against transfer of the Orphan Fund; but basically the fear of taking an illegal action was the cause of the failure to approve the fund transfers. In the case of the Orphan Fund, evidence of this fear appeared in a note of August 18, 1854, from Charles E. Mix, Acting Commissioner, to Secretary of the Interior Robert McClelland. Mix referred to the Secretary's decision of April 26, 1854, that the law "did not warrant any such disposition of the script or money"--that is, use of the Orphans Fund for financing Choctaw neighborhood schools. Mix explained that the Choctaws, although "very anxious to establish neighborhood schools," lacked the funds to implement their desire. The Commissioner noted that the unclaimed orphan money totaled $17,550.80, that this amount would increase as more lands in Mississippi were sold, and suggested that Congress be requested to enact a law authorizing the use of the Orphan Fund for neighborhood schools. In the fall of 1854 Commissioner George W. Manypenny reiterated the hope that Congress would soon pass legislation to free the Orphan Fund to be used for neighborhood schools. But to no avail.

Undaunted, the Choctaw leadership explored other possibilities for the financing of a system of common schools. For example, a resolution of the Choctaw Council in November of 1853 directed the investment by the United States of $872,000 "appropriated by the Act of Congress, July 1852, in satisfaction" for claims arising under the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. The annual interest derived from this investment was to be paid over to the "three trustees and general superintendent of schools of the Choctaw people" for support of neighborhood schools among the citizens of "Choctaw blood living in the Choctaw Districts of the Choctaw Nation." This last provision was presumed necessary to prevent any of the funds from being used in the Chickasaw District, since the move had already begun which led to the release of the Chickasaws from their 1837 arrangement to become part of the Choctaw Nation. However, for reasons too complicated to attempt to explain here, no money became available from this source for support of Choctaw neighborhood schools.

As previously suggested, almost from the time of their establishment the boarding schools were criticized for their internal failures, their elitism, and their inability to educate the great majority of Choctaw children. In July, 1854, Agent Douglas H. Cooper reported this feeling to Commissioner Manypenny. Some Choctaws, Cooper said, favored the withdrawal of funds from support of the boarding schools and the use of said funds entirely for neighborhood schools. Many of those favoring this action would have discontinued all support for the academies and seminaries, but most favored only a partial withdrawal of funds such as that proposed by Superintendent McAlister of Fort Coffee Academy. Overwhelmed by the problems caused by boarding students who were too young, McAlister wrote Agent Cooper in October, 1854, that:

> It is believed by some that the means employed would serve a better purpose to reduce the number of students to one half, and employ the overplus in neighborhood schools as preparatory branches of this and the New Hope academies; and not burden these academies with little boys and girls that you are compelled to nurse [sic] almost literally for a long time before they are anything like prepared to enter an academy. In view of this, a proposition will be made to the general council and the board of missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church South to make this change.

It seems doubtful from available evidence that such "neighborhood" schools were ever established in connection with Fort Coffee and New Hope. But it is clear that Choctaw pride in their boarding schools, among other considerations, prevented the reduction of funds for their support before 1861 and the subsequent closing of all Choctaw schools as a result of the outbreak of the Civil War.

A development in 1855 promised to furnish the Choctaws the desired money for adequate funding of their neighborhood schools. Although the times and circumstances prevented the firm establishment of a system of Choctaw elementary schools at this time, a beginning was made. These new funds in 1855 derived from a three-way treaty in which the United States, the Choctaws, and the Chickasaws were involved. Unhappy with their status as a minority group the Chickasaws had desired, almost from the time of their incorporation into the Choctaw Nation in the West, to regain their status as an independent nation. The treaty of 1855 provided for Chickasaw withdrawal from the Choctaw Nation, their eastern boundary to be a line beginning at the mouth of Island Bayou on Red River, up that stream to its source west of the present city of Durant, and hence due north to the Canadian River near Allen. The ninety-eighth meridian, a line just west of Highway 81 on a current map, became the western boundary of the Chickasaw Nation between the Red and Canadian rivers.

The effect of this treaty was to divide the Choctaw-Chickasaw lands, like ancient Gaul, into three parts. The Chickasaw Nation occupied the center portion; to the east of the Chickasaws, extending to the Arkansas line and between Red River on the south and the Arkansas and Canadian rivers on the north, lay the Choctaw Nation; and that area to the west of the Chickasaws, extending to the hundredth meridian, became the "Leased District." The 1855 Treaty provided that this western third of the Choctaw-Chickasaw country between the 98th and 100th meridians, should be leased to the United States for the "permanent settlement of the Wichita and . . . other tribes or bands of Indians . . . ." In return for this "relinquishment and lease," to use the words of the Treaty, the United States agreed to pay $200,000 to the Chickasaws and $600,000 to the Choctaws. The Choctaw Nation could have authorized that all the $600,000 be divided among its citizens through per capita payments. But so strong was the desire for establishment of a system of common schools that the General Council decreed that $500,000 of the total be set aside for educational purposes.

Their eagerness was emphasized by the unusual speed with which the Choctaw leadership acted. The Treaty was signed in Washington on June 22, 1855, by the authorized representatives of the United States and of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. The United States Senate ratified the Treaty on February 21, 1856; the President gave his final approval on March 4; and the Choctaw General Council met in an unprecedented special session on July 25 to enact legislation implementing the treaty provisions. Concerning the $600,000 Leased District payment, the Choctaw legislation directed that $500,000 of the total was to be held in trust by the United States and the interest earned therefrom turned over annually to the "Treasurer of the Choctaw Nation." The funds were then to be used by the Choctaws for:

> . . . the support of their government, for purposes of education and such other objects as may be best calculated to promote and advance the improvement, welfare, and happiness of the Choctaw people and their descendants.

This catchall clause was undoubtedly designed to allow use of these funds for other than educational purposes if the Council so desired in case of emergency. There is little doubt, however, that the chief desire of the Choctaw leadership was to spend this new income on elementary schools. Evidence of this intention appeared in a letter from Agent Douglas Cooper to Elias Rector, in charge of the Southern Superintendency with headquarters at Fort Smith. On September 15, 1857, Cooper wrote:

> The interest arising from the $500,000 invested in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of June, 1855, will enable the Choctaw Council to establish a system of common schools, in connexion [sic] with the academies, supported by the interest arising from the $500,000 invested for the Choctaw nation under the treaty of 1837 between the Choctaws and Chickasaws.
>
> The two systems will place the facilities for an education within the reach of every Choctaw child; and if the academies are properly managed, there will no longer be any necessity for sending Choctaw youth out of the country to obtain a thorough education.

Because of certain developments during the next three years, the hopes expressed in 1857 by Cooper for the future of Choctaw education were not destined to be achieved at this time.

The same treaty that provided the funds for common schools, it will be recalled, also established the independence of the Chickasaws, so that it became necessary for the Choctaws to write a new constitution. Events in connection with the constitution-writing led the Choctaw people to the brink of civil war and prevented the creation of a comprehensive system of elementary schools before 1861, when involvement in the American Civil War led to the shutdown of all Choctaw schools. In 1859 Agent Douglas Cooper reported that for a year or two previously there had been "almost a total disregard of law and order" among the Choctaws, and that complete anarchy in the Nation had narrowly been averted only by "wise and conciliatory enactments" of the General Council at their October, 1858, session. The situation was such that the Mushulatubbee District, since its leaders were dominant from 1857 through 1859, was the least affected by the disorder, and it was the only one of the three districts for which an elementary school report was discovered during the time of disorder. The assumption is that some elementary schools in the other two districts continued in operation, but without government assistance. For whatever reason, no law was found which appropriated funds for neighborhood schools in all three districts until the October, 1859, session of the General Council.

In the meantime, the Mushulatubbee District had a dozen schools in operation as compared to the previous high of four during the early 1850s. For the year 1858-1859, Kennedy McCurtain, "Trustee of Schools Mosholatubbee District Choctaw Nation," reported twelve neighborhood schools in operation. McCurtain located the schools by counties, which had been established by the Choctaw Nation in 1850 as local governmental units. The five counties of the Mushulatubbee District were Skullyville and

Sugar Loaf, bordering on Arkansas, and Sans Bois, Tobucksy, and Gaines in the central and western part of the District. As the following table illustrates, the population of the District, and therefore the majority of schools, was concentrated in the two eastern counties.

	County	Neighborhood	Teacher	Race	Enrollment	"Amt Paid"
1.	Skullyville	Standing Pine	L. D. McGowan	"Native"	18	$ 100.00
		Double Spring	Norrice [?] Jacob	"	23	100.00
		"Holetushah"	Wesley Browning	"	18	50.00
		Skullyville	William Wilson	White	34	600.00
2.	Sugar Loaf	Summerfield	(Mitchell McCurtain	"Native"	23	200.00
			(Julian "Holson"	"		50.00
		Happy Hill	Isabella McCurtain	"	36	250.00
		("Two Days School" (at Standing Pine	Melvina McCurtain	"	29	75.00
		Salem	(Josiah Scott (Robert Patton	"	25	60.00
3.	"Samboy" [Sans Bois]	Rock Creek	Josiah Crosthwaite	White	35	175.24
		Red Lick	Jackson Loving	"Native"	25	104.00
4.	Gaines	Fourche Maline	Martha Chapin	"	19	85.00
5.	"Tobaksi" [Tobucksy]	Tushka "himita"	John Baker	White	31	125.00
	Totals	12	14		317	$2019.24

Probably many of these were Saturday and Sunday schools like Melvina McCurtain's "Two Days School" in Sugar Loaf County, but this was quite an increase over the number of schools ever previously reported in Mushulatubbee District. And an October, 1859, law further indicated the newfound interest in education for the District, as it authorized $2500 for the support of local schools in Mushulatubbee District with:

> . . . particular regard for the schools already established, which may be in a flourishing condition, and for those localities where the greatest number of children can be benefited, by such disbursement.

This 1859 law also provided $2500 for the support of neighborhood schools in Apukshunnubbee District with instructions to the District Trustee that he "pay particular attention" to the needs of the people on the Red River, "in the neighborhood of Willis Jones," and at "Koialli Bok." But only five neighborhood schools were reported for the 1859-1860 term by Joseph Dukes, trustee for Apukshunnubbee District. These were Lenox, "Apehka," Cedar Creek, "Kolih Tuklo," and "Toli Holihta." Lenox received $400 for the year, while $300 was granted to each of the others. The remaining $900, from the total appropriation of $2500, was used to support twenty-five Sunday schools, concerning which Dukes wrote that they were ". . . doing a mighty work in renovating the mind/_s_7 and freeing the mass of people from the shackles of heathenish customs and habits . . . ."

Only for Pushmataha District were any schools actually named in the 1859 law and the appropriation was $2,900, larger than for either of the other districts. Three subscription schools, which had been in existence at mission stations for several years, were funded in this district. At Goodland $400 was appropriated to O. P. Stark, missionary in charge, for the current year; Bennington received $350, to be expended under direction of C. C. Copeland, who headed that mission station; and $300 was allocated to "Mrs. P. T. Hotchkins" for her school at Living Land. Two hundred dollars each was provided for a school at Good Water, in the "neighborhood of Jackson Roberts," and for another near the home of "Z. Harrison." Two other schools, at Elm Grove and Ephesus, were granted $350 and $300, respectively, but no names of patrons or teachers were given. To complete the total of $2,900, the sum of $800 was assigned to the District Trustee for support of "schools in other neighborhoods."

As can be seen, in 1859 the Choctaw Nation was still in the beginning stages of developing an adequate system of common schools. Little or no increase was shown by the 1860 reports, the last available before Choctaw involvement in the American Civil War and the almost complete shutdown of Choctaw educational efforts. In fact, Agent Cooper's 1860 report was quite vague. He noted that the total enrollment in the eight Choctaw boarding schools was 362, of whom 195 were students in the three male academies--Norwalk had been discontinued several years earlier--and 167 in the five female seminaries. By contrast, without giving any exact number of units or teachers, Cooper reported the enrollment in the neighborhood schools as "over 500," an indication of his ignorance of the true figures. The total spent for the boarding schools in the 1859-1860 term was three times that for elementary schools, $23,500 compared with $8,300, according to the Agent.

Cooper, however, continued to work for the correction of this imbalance in the Choctaw school system. He wrote of the:

> . . . growing desire to have a better class of teachers at the academies, so as to preclude the necessity of sending off young men and women to

> be educated. These academies should be made high schools, capable of giving a finished education; native teachers, for the common schools, should be taught at them, who will be able to instruct the children at the common schools in both the English and the Indian languages . . . .

Here Cooper was echoing the thoughts of Choctaw leaders such as Allen Wright, who wrote from Boggy Depot on August 29, 1860:

> From the facts before us, without disparaging the boarding schools and academies, as it is a _sine qua non_ to the higher grades of the educational system, [that] the neighborhood schools should be earnestly encouraged . . . .

No reports for the school term, 1860-1861, were found; and most Choctaw schools at any level were closed after that year and did not re-open until after the Civil War.

In summary, the period of years between removal and the American Civil War saw the Choctaw commitment to public education grow almost beyond belief, so that per capita distributions of their funds "declined and finally ceased," to use the words of Angie Debo. All their available funds were channeled into development of an educational system completely foreign to their aboriginal concepts. It would seem that the shutdown of their schools between 1861 and 1865, and the fact that their country, despite the fact that few military engagements occurred there, was laid waste during the conflict would give them feelings of resentment and hatred which would inhibit the reconstruction of their society after 1865. But such was not the case and the Choctaw thirst for education continued and flourished during the reconstruction years following the Civil War.

XIII

EPILOG: EDUCATE! OR WE PERISH!

For a number of reasons the Choctaws became involved in the American Civil War and joined the Confederacy, the losing side. In September, 1865, following Lee's surrender at Appomattox in April, the Choctaws were informed by the chief commissioner sent by the United States to arrange peace terms that, since they had violated their treaties by allying themselves with and fighting on the side of the Confederate States of America, they had forfeited all rights and were thus "at the mercy of the government" of the United States. When a peace treaty was finally concluded in Washington on April 28, 1866, the Choctaw delegation by judicious negotiation secured favorable treatment which restored all their pre-1861 trust funds and authorized resumption of regular annuity payments on June 30, 1866. The Choctaw leadership immediately began to plan the complete reconstruction of their society, especially the system of public schools.

Although not an arena, like Virginia or Georgia, over which belligerent armies had marched and fought and foraged during the war years, the Choctaw Nation was hard hit. Especially bad were the last two years of the War. Southern Indians from the Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole nations sought refuge among the Choctaws and Chickasaws as they escaped from the northern troops which took over the Indian country north of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers after July, 1863. Food shortages, criminal activities such as robbery and murder, and lack of any effective governmental control led to destitution and near-anarchy among the despairing Choctaws. But somehow these people were able to overcome their difficulties and began to restore some semblance of an orderly society even before

Chief Peter P. Pitchlynn signed terms of surrender to the United States at Doaksville on June 19, 1865.

Even before the Treaty of 1866 confirmed that funds for education would once more be available, the Choctaws moved to re-establish their school system, a casualty of the Civil War. Perhaps it was more than coincidence, but an evidence of the burning and abiding interest of the Choctaws in public education, that the two leaders who were elected principal chief between 1864 and 1870, Peter P. Pitchlynn and Allen Wright, were among the staunchest supporters of public education in the Choctaw Nation. In the decades of the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s Pitchlynn had promoted school legislation and served in various capacities as an official of the Choctaw school system. And there was no Choctaw more dedicated to the cause of education, nor himself a more illustrious example of how well the Choctaw schools could function, than Allen Wright. It is quite possible that without such leadership, the Choctaws would not have moved so swiftly to revitalize their schools. Of course it may also be true that, in spite of the ravages of war, the longing for an adequate school system had survived among the people and would have led to re-establishment of the schools no matter who the leaders were. The re-establishment posed difficulties, since the loss of revenue after 1861 had caused the entire system of education to be discontinued and school buildings, books, and equipment to be neglected and destroyed. A few buildings, such as Armstrong Academy, which served as the national capital, and some others used by the Confederates as barracks, hospitals, or refugee quarters, did not deteriorate during the war. But most feel into decay. And since the war had caused many of the teachers and missionaries to leave the Nation, a whole Choctaw generation was growing up without schools.

Therefore almost the first act of postwar reconstruction by the Choctaws was aimed at restoration of their system of public schools. An act of the Council, October 19, 1865, authorized Chief Peter P. Pitchlynn to appoint three commissioners, one from each district, whose instructions were:

> . . . to ascertain the number of schools in operation, the condition and prospects thereof, and also to devise and mature a plan of perfecting and establishing the system of education in this Nation on a permanent and enlarged basis, and report the same to the General Council, in October next, for its action.

The wording of the law indicated that a few scattered schools had already been re-opened, or had somehow survived during the War, with local support. One of the first acts of the 1866 Council was to designate one day of the session for exclusive discussion of the "subject of School." Invited to participate with the Council in the deliberations of the day were the school trustee for each of the three districts, the general superintendent of the Choctaw schools, as well as all other citizens of the Nation interested in education. As a result of this discussion the Council on December 21, 1866, passed an Act "to extend the neighborhood schools throughout the Choctaw Nation." This law instructed the national superintendent and the district trustees to establish and maintain a neighborhood school wherever there were "Choctaw children of proper age to attend the school." The teachers were to receive two dollars per month for each pupil in attendance and were directed to consult with their district trustees about such matters as subjects to be taught.

In January, 1867, many neighborhood schools were opened under provisions of the 1866 law and Captain George T. Olmsted, agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws with headquarters at Boggy Depot, was moved to make an optimistic report concerning them in the late summer of 1868. The Choctaw schools, the Agent stated, were once more in good condition and were "as largely attended as the generality of public schools in the most enlightened states." Olmsted was convinced that more money for elementary education was needed by the Choctaws and urged the Department of the Interior to increase the funds available for Choctaw education.

The memoirs of Peter J. Hudson, prominent Choctaw minister and educator of one-fourth white blood, provide a rare glimpse into the daily operation of a Choctaw neighborhood school. At the age of six Hudson attended his first school session in 1867 under the tutelage of Rhoda Pitchlynn, daughter of Peter P. Pitchlynn and undoubtedly the "Mary R. Pitchlynn" who attended the Southern Masonic Female College, Covington, Georgia, and Virginia Female Institute at Staunton. The school was held in the dilapidated buildings of Stockbridge Female Seminary near Eagletown, which had been abandoned at the outbreak of the Civil War. Young Peter, head and feet bare, on his first day in school "refused like any other good Choctaw" to tell his name when Miss Pitchlynn requested it for entry on the roll. She then suggested names until he agreed by nodding that "Peter" was his given name. The children were thrown into laughter when Peter tried to "put something over" on the teacher by nodding when she suggested that his surname was Pitchlynn. Later Hudson attended a school taught by a John Austin two miles south of Stockbridge and walked a trail through the woods along which he saw many deer and other wild game. Afterward he attended Spencer Academy and eventually was graduated from Drury College, Springfield, Missouri.

Forbis LeFlore, superintendent of schools for the Choctaw Nation, made his first annual report in September, 1869, which exhibited the amazing recovery made by the Choctaw schools at the elementary level within three years after the close of the Civil War. The term began on September 1, 1868, ran for seven months, and ended on March 31, 1869. The figures indicated that more money for more pupils and more schools was spent on neighborhood schools in 1868-1869 than during any comparable period preceding the Civil War. The following table was lifted from LeFlore's report:

District	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	Amt. Spent
"Pushmartarhaw"	27	718	$ 7,028.45
"Puckshenubbee"	23	618	6,312.87
"Moshoolatubba"	19	511	6,027.72
Total	69	1847	19,369.04

In 1870 LeFlore reported eighty-four schools with an average of twenty-one pupils per school and a total enrollment of 1,764, eighty-three fewer than the previous year. The expenditures for "common schools," he added, totalled $18,886.00 for a term which began on October 1, 1869, and ended April 30, 1870, a period of seven months. He further noted that he had discovered:

> . . . by close observation, that it is almost impossible to procure anything like a regular every-day attendance on the part of the pupils in the winter season, because of a great many of the poorer class of children being almost destitute of warm clothes.

Thus the problem of absenteeism, which had plagued the Choctaw neighborhood schools from their inception and had been a prime cause for the establishment of a system of Choctaw boarding schools, continued after 1865. Another continuing problem was the need for native teachers who spoke Choctaw, since, as LeFlore put it, "The majority of children going to school know no other language than their native tongue." To fill this need the Superintendent had been "compelled in some cases" to employ native teachers who were "not fully competent" since they were not "far advanced in education." His explanation of the increase from sixty-nine schools in 1869 to eighty-four in 1870 was:

> Owing to the great eagerness and desire of our people to have their children acquire an English education, I was compelled to increase the locations of our common schools; but, for the want of funds to carry on the schools through the regular term, I had to lessen the term of session, to make our limited means hold out.

Also mentioned was the fact that "about one-third" of the eighty-four teachers employed were "white." The remainder, termed "native," had been "educated in and out of the nation."

Soon after the revival of the neighborhood school system, perhaps in the hope that desperately needed teachers could be quickly provided, the Choctaw government resumed the practice of supporting a selected group of young people at various colleges in the "States." A general appropriation bill passed on November 21, 1867, for the fiscal year ending July 31st, 1868, provided $7,260.00 for the "tuition of the children and youth that are now in the States . . . ." In his 1869 report Superintendent LeFlore named several colleges where twenty "Choctaw children" were studying "under the forty youths funds treaty stipulation," twelve young men, seven young women, and one who had "returned home." Neither the sex nor the institution of the returnee was given. Of the male students, six were enrolled at Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tennessee; five at King's College, Bristol, Tennessee; and one "at Kentucky /_sic_7." Four of the female students were at McMinnville

College, Tennessee; two at Martha Washington College, Abingdon, Virginia; and one "at Paris, Texas."

Two other young men, supported by special acts of the General Council, were mentioned as attending King's College and Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. The name of the King's College student, recipient of $250 annually, was not discovered, but Dartmouth College records listed Albert Carney as the Choctaw student enrolled there in 1870. Carney received $350.00 annual support for several years at Dartmouth but apparently did not graduate. LeFlore's 1870 report was quite pessimistic about the financial future of the Forty Youth Fund, a pessimism latef to be proved unwarranted. He wrote on August 29, 1870, that twenty-three young men and women were attending colleges and seminaries to:

> . . . acquire the knowledge of books and the ways of civilization; but, for the want of means to continue them in their great and laudable undertaking, I will soon have the painful task to inform them they must return home.

However, additional funds soon became available for support of all levels of Choctaw education, and the Choctaw Nation continued to send its young people to colleges in the United States until the end of its separate political existence. Of particular interest during this period was the activity of Roanoke College, Salem, Virginia, in the recruitment and education of Choctaw young men. Between 1870 and 1898, when the Federal government took control of the Choctaw educational system, thirty-five Choctaws attended the Virginia college and returned to their home country to become leaders in various phases of Choctaw society.

One cause for the temporary shortage of funds in the early 1870s was the re-opening of some of the boarding schools and resulting reduction in funds available for neighborhood schools and students in the states. In August, 1870, Superintendent LeFlore reported that work on repair of the buildings at Spencer Academy and New Hope Seminary was almost completed and both would begin classes when funds were authorized. A year later he informed the Commissioner that both had resumed operation, New Hope on April 1, 1871, with "50 female scholars," and Spencer a few months earlier with sixty boys enrolled. A new contract, with provisions similar to the prewar boarding school arrangements, had been made by the Choctaw Nation with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the management of New Hope. The Choctaw Nation agreed to appropriate $5,000 annually and to furnish the buildings; in return the Methodist Mission Board agreed to provide a superintendent and teachers for fifty girls, who would be fed, clothed, and taught. A similar agreement was made with the Presbyterian church regarding Spencer Academy, since the Presbyterian prewar management of that school had been considered quite satisfactory. LeFlore noted that the drastic reduction in the number of neighborhood schools, from the eighty-four teachers and 1,764 pupils reported in 1870 to thirty-four teachers and 850 scholars in 1871 was the result of using funds, previously assigned to the support of neighborhood schools, for the re-establishment of the two boarding schools.

Both New Hope and Spencer increased in enrollment and were the leading educational institutions of the Choctaws until their buildings were destroyed by fire in the 1890s. The capacity of each institution was increased to accommodate one hundred scholars, the number usually enrolled by each school during the final years of their existence. In 1882 Spencer Academy was moved to a new site west of the Kiamichi River in the Pushmataha District, about nine miles northwest of the present city of Hugo. Among possible reasons for the move was to accompany the westward shift of Choctaw population to be near the railroad lines which had been built into the Choctaw Nation. The Missouri, Kansas, and Texas line had been built across the western edge of the Choctaw Nation in 1872; in 1887 a branch of the Saint Louis and San Francisco was completed south from Fort Smith and down the west side of the Kiamichi River to Paris, Texas. By moving west of the river, the New Spencer Academy could never be cut off from the railroads because of flooding of the Kiamichi Valley. Oddly enough, the existence of both Spencer and New Hope ended within a few weeks of each other during the fall and winter of 1896. On October 6, 1896, a tragic fire, in which four boys died, destroyed the main building at New Spencer; on December 30, New Hope burned, happily without casualties. An attempt was made to continue operation of Spencer, and in 1898 classes were resumed in a newly constructed building. In 1900, however, that structure was also destroyed by fire, this time without loss of life. A United States official reported the event with these words:

> Spencer Academy . . . was recently destroyed by fire, caused by sparks being blown through an open window from an engine being used for operating a steam pump. The building was erected in 1898, and cost about $7,000, but was a cheaply constructed frame building, not plastered.

Both Spencer and New Hope thus passed into memory, only their charred ruins remaining as mute physical evidence of the great work performed by them in the education of several generations of Choctaw men and women.

When "New Spencer" was established, the Choctaws finally discovered a way to use the Orphan Fund for educational purposes; the "Old Spencer" buildings were occupied for a while as a coeducational boarding school for orphan children. The Choctaw predilection for separate schools for the sexes, an attitude shared by most of the population of the United States at the time, was a factor in making the coeducational use of the Old Spencer buildings only a temporary experiment. But in 1882 the enrollment for the "Choctaw Orphan School" was given as thirty and the cost "to government" as $3,000. In 1883 the "Orphan School" reported a capacity of thirty-eight, an average attendance of twenty-seven during a session of seven months, and an expenditure of $5,000, of which $3,000 was furnished by the Choctaw government and $2,000 by the Presbyterian Church. The 1884 report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was incomplete but listed an enrollment of thirty-nine for a session of three months at the "Armstrong Orphan Home," with no indication as to whether or not both boys and girls were enrolled. What had happened, of course, was that in 1883 the Choctaw Nation had moved its capital to a new building at Tuskahoma and the brick building at Armstrong Academy was once again being utilized for educational purposes.

During this same period Wheelock Seminary was also re-opened as an orphan school, although available records were not clear as to the exact date when repair of the buildings was completed so that students could be enrolled. The 1885 report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was vague, mentioning only that the Choctaw Nation had "three large academies" without naming them. The Commissioner's report for 1886 was more detailed, listing the following Choctaw boarding schools:

Name	Capacity
Wheelock Orphan School (boys and girls)	50
New Hope Seminary (girls)	100
Spencer Academy (boys)	100
Old Spencer	50

It is not clear as to why "Old Spencer" was mentioned here after reference had been made to the "Armstrong Orphan School" in the 1884 report. The 1887 report made by Union Agent Robert L. Owen gave a more accurate account, listing four boarding schools and dropping "Old Spencer," which had finally been abandoned. The Agent listed:

Name	"No. attending"	"Average Attendance"	Appropration
New Hope Seminary (girls)	100	95	$10,000
Spencer Academy (boys)	100	97	10,000
Armstrong Academy (orphan boys)	50	50	5,500
Wheelock Seminary (orphan girls)	50	50	5,500
Totals	300	292	$31,000

Perhaps the term "Union Agent" should be explained. In 1874 the "Union Agency" was established for the Five Civilized Tribes at Muskogee, the forerunner of the present Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At that time the Choctaws came under direction of the Muskogee office, and there was no longer a Choctaw Agency as such.

During the years immediately following 1870, when the boarding schools were being re-established, the program of neighborhood schools languished as funds continued to be diverted from their support to finance the academies. As previously noted, the number of neighborhood schools dropped drastically from eighty-four in 1870 to thirty-four in 1871. The number of pupils reported enrolled also dropped by more than half, from 1,764 to 850. However, after 1872, when thirty-four schools enrolled 719 students, the enrollment began to climb. At times the numbers of girls and boys were given separately, the boys customarily outnumbering the girls by a small margin. Often the statistics listed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were merely repeats of those for the previous year and were so reported. Three different reports for 1873-1875 each gave fifty schools with an average enrollment of 1,129; reports discovered through 1876-1879 listed fifty-four schools with 1,200 pupils; and the 1880-1885 reports all listed fifty-seven schools with enrollments ranging from 1,124 to 1,460 pupils. In 1885 and 1886 a sudden jump occurred in both the number of schools and the number of pupils, to 146 and 2,666 respectively. The accuracy of the printed tables is questionable, since the figure of 2,600 was used as the total number of Choctaw children of school age in a total population of 18,000. By comparison, one hundred schools were reported in the Cherokee Nation during this same period; the Cherokee school enrollment for 1884 was reported, out of a total population of 22,000, as 6,204, and as 4,091 in 1886. The Choctaw school figures for the next two years, according to the Commissioner's reports were 168 schools and 3,512 students for 1887 and 160 schools and 1,370 students in 1888. Surely, the figures for 1888 were more approximately correct than those for 1887. One reason for the increase in both the number of schools and the total enrollment by 1886 was the fact that in 1885, under pressure from the Federal government, the Choctaw Nation had adopted their Negro freedmen as citizens and established separate schools for them; these began to be included in the total reports. In 1886 thirty-four schools for freedmen were opened with a total of 847 children enrolled. But when these numbers are added to the numbers reported in 1884, the totals for 1886 should be 91 schools and 1,971 children--not the 146 schools and 2,666 children officially listed.

Whether the figures are reliable or not, one valid generalization can be made. During the decade of the 1880s the number of neighborhood schools tripled and their enrollment doubled. There are several possible explanations for this phenomenon. First, the desire of the Choctaws for a fine school system had revived and continued to grow in the years following the Civil War. Most leaders, from the principal chiefs down to bigwigs in local communities, at least did lip service to improvement of education. Witness the statements of two chiefs, back to back, in 1878 and 1879. Chief Coleman Cole said in 1878 near the close of his four-year tenure, "It is pleasing to contemplate our rapid emergence from the gloom of ignorance and superstition, into the light of Education and Moral Truth." Cole's successor, Isaac Garvin, apparently was not satisfied that the Choctaws were emerging rapidly enough from the "gloom of ignorance." In 1879 he urged the Council to promote more and better schools with these words: "One per cent of the money now lost to us by reason of popular ignorance will suffice to remove that ignorance. Then I say educate! educate! or we perish!" Whether derived from either optimistic or pessimistic motivations, Choctaw leaders such as Cole and Garvin promoted the cause of Choctaw education.

Other factors important to the continued expansion of Choctaw education in the 1880s included passage of laws such as the one in 1884, which required compulsory attendance and penalized the parents by a fine of ten cents a day for the absence from school of any child between the ages of seven and eighteen except for such deterrents as sickness, high water, or bad weather. One available bit of evidence shows that at least one effort was made to enforce the compulsory attendance law; this was a receipt for $4.00 paid by H. L. Gooding as a "fine imposed for not sending his son Basil Gooding to school as required by law." The receipt was dated December 5, 1885, and involved the Goodland school in Kiamichi County. But more important than any exhortations by the chiefs, or the passage of new laws, was an increase in the Choctaw national income and the subsequent decision to devote most of the new money to the cause of education. This was, of course, a continuation of the pre-Civil War policy of giving education top priority when allocating available Choctaw funds.

The new funds for education were derived from taxes and fees collected from non-citizens and royalties paid to the Nation for exploitation of such natural resources as coal and timber, especially the former. In 1872 this economic development began in earnest when the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad was completed through the McAlester coal region and the forested lands in the western part of the Choctaw Nation. Among other early railroads were the Frisco, previously mentioned as completing a line from Fort Smith down the Kiamichi valley to Texas in 1887; the Choctaw Coal and Railway Company, a promotion of the Lehigh Valley Railroad of Pennsylvania, which built a line from Wister to McAlester between 1888 and 1890; and the Kansas City Southern, which built across the northeast corner of the Choctaw country about 1900.

The largest portion of the new money came from coal royalties. The first coal mines were opened in 1872 and by 1877 the Choctaw share of coal royalties--the Chickasaw government received one fourth of the total--was $1,522.50. By 1890 the Choctaw share had grown to $57,839.49 and was $82,608.93 in 1899; by this latter date, however, the Federal government had taken control of the Choctaw schools. During the three decades following 1870 a similar growth occurred in Choctaw income from other sources, a growth which allowed them to enlarge their educational enterprise almost yearly and to establish a school in practically every education-starved community of their Nation. There were some lean years, of course. In 1894 the Nation was short of funds because of an extraordinary expenditure of $28,600, resulting from a serious election disturbance in 1892-1893, a coal strike which for a time completely stopped payment of coal royalties, and the alleged dishonesty of certain Choctaw school officials. A detailed account of the causes and events of the election troubles of 1892-3, which almost became a Choctaw Civil War, may be found in Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1892 and 1893. As a result school sessions lasted only three or four months in 1893-1894 and Choctaw students in the states were brought home. Such a year was the exception up until that date, however; and the Choctaw schools were taken over by the Federal government before they were able to recover completely from the setbacks caused by the problems of 1893-1894.

Thus financed, the Choctaw educational system reached its acme in the late 1880s and early 1890s. The total Choctaw school report for 1888, which gave a more nearly correct number of neighborhood schools than the figures previously cited from the Commissioner's tables, listed the following:

Boarding Schools	Enrollment	Average Attendance
Spencer	100	78
New Hope	108	97
Wheelock Orphan Asylum (female)	58	56
Armstrong Orphan Asylum [male]	52	48
Sub-Total	318	279

Neighborhood Schools	Number	Enrollment	Average Attendance
Mushulatubbee District	48	693	470
Apukshunnubbee District	48	1,046	791
Pushmataha District	64	1,370	1,208
Sub-Total	160	3,109	2,469
Total Students		3,427	2,748

It was noted that twenty-nine of the neighborhood institutions were segregated "Negro schools." A section of the 1888 report referred to the four boarding schools as "High schools," probably not a true label for these institutions, particularly the orphan schools. Also, no mention was made of students attending college in the States, but their number must have been about twenty-four, the figure listed in 1886. Neither was the total Choctaw expenditure for education in 1888 given, but it certainly was greater than the $62,800 reported in 1886.

By contrast the Choctaw superintendent of schools, J. B. Jeter, reported the total expenditure for education during 1892-1893 as $118,725, almost double that for 1885-1886. The data given by Jeter was usually complete and included the following figures:

Neighborhood Schools	Number	Enrollment
Mushulatubbee District	53	742
Apukshunnubbee District	57	892
Pushmataha District	79	2,185
Sub-Total	189	3,819
Boarding Schools	7	550
Students in the States		40
Total	196	4,409

The numbers for the neighborhood schools, by the way, indicate the movement of the Choctaw population across the Kiamichi River from the Apukshunnubbee District into the Pushmataha District, where the new towns were springing up along the Katy and Frisco railroads. The $118,725, was divided so that $12,500 was used to support college students in the States; $55,000 appropriated to operate the seven boarding schools; and the remaining $51,225 assigned to maintain the neighborhood schools and pay incidental expenses such as salaries for national, district, and local school officials. Union Agent Dew M. Wisdom added an enlightening footnote to Jeter's 1893 report:

> There is a superintendent or general manager for each of the above boarding schools. Salary for first four [schools not named but reported as enrolling 100 pupils each], $1200 each; salary for second [two orphan schools enrolling 60 each], $500; salary for last one [coeducational school for freedmen enrolling 30], $400; salary of the general superintendent of schools, $600, with a contingent fund of $450; salary of teachers at boarding schools from $40 to $100 per month. Four weeks of 5 days each make a scholastic month for which teachers are paid a salary based on attendance. For 15 days or more, $2 per scholar per month; for less than 15 days, 10 cents per day of actual attendance. All schools run nine months in the year. Teachers are paid promptly at the end of each month. Total expenditures for schools for 1892-93, $118,725.

Of course the election troubles and coal strike of 1892-1893 shortened the school year 1893-1894 because of the consequent lack of funds.

One phase of Jeter's 1893 report should be clarified. When last mentioned, only four boarding schools were being supported by the Choctaw Nation; but during the administration of Principal Chief Wilson N. Jones (1890-1894) the Choctaws reorganized their educational system and founded three new boarding schools by an Act of the General Council approved on December 5, 1891. Incidentally, even before this, the Choctaws had discontinued the policy of operating their boarding schools under contracts with mission boards; under the new policy the schools were controlled through the General Council and staffed with educated Choctaw citizens. The three new institutions all opened in the fall of 1892. They were "Jones Institute with one hundred boys," located near Hartshorne; "Tushka Homa Female Institute" for a hundred girls; and "Tushka Lusa [black warrior] Institute," a coeducational school at

Talihina designed to provide a high school for thirty children of Choctaw freedmen. In accordance with the policy of using Choctaw citizens, the first superintendents of Jones Academy and Tuskahoma Seminary were educated Choctaws, S. T. Dwight and Peter J. Hudson, and the first principal of Tuskalusa Academy was Henry Nail, a Choctaw freedman. The other four boarding schools reported in 1893 were, of course, New Hope, Spencer, and the two orphan schools, Wheelock and Armstrong.

By 1896 the Choctaw school system appeared on the way to recovery from the lean years immediately following the coal strike and the political upheaval of the mid-nineties. The 1897 report of the Choctaw superintendent of schools to the Union Agent opened with the sentence: "Schools in fine condition and indicate great progress during the past year." Any optimism engendered by that statement was almost immediately dispelled by the superintendent's next statement which read: "Had the misfortune to lose two academies by fire--Spencer Academy, burned in October, 1896, and New Hope Seminary, in January, 1897 /̲actually the night of December 30, 1896̲7." No further mention was made of these catastrophes in the report, not even of the tragic deaths of four boys at Spencer. The superintendent proceeded matter-of-factly to list facts and figures concerning the remaining institutions, as follows:

School	Enrollment	Appropriations
"Tuskahoma Female Academy, girls"	100	$13,150
"Jones Academy, boys"	100	13,150
"Armstrong Orphan Home, boys"	75	9,200
"Wheelock Orphan Home, girls"	50	7,000
"Tuskahoma Colored Academy," (15 boys, 15 girls)	30	3,750
Totals	355	$46,250

When the $13,000 set aside for support of "40 students /‾at_7 different colleges in the States" and the $35,000 appropriated for support of approximately 190 neighborhood schools is added to the $46,250 used by the boarding schools, the total 1896-1897 expenditure for education by the Choctaws was $94,250. No figures were given for whatever money was expended at Spencer or New Hope before their fiery destruction.

One statement at the close of the 1897 report indicated that by that year not all the pupils in Choctaw schools were necessarily children of Choctaw citizens, Indians or freedmen. The sentence read, "Children of noncitizens are not debarred from our schools, provided they pay their own tuition." This was one indication of the situation which had developed in the Choctaw Nation, the result of an influx of non-Indians which began after the Civil War, mostly white and many in violation of the Federal laws against "intruding" on Indian land. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, arguing in 1899 for Federal aid for the education of the children of some 200,000 non-Indian residents of the Choctaw Nation, complained that the non-Indian parents were taxed by the Choctaw authorities but received little or no benefits therefrom, such as education of their children in the Choctaw schools. These non-Indian residents, according to the Commissioner, had come into the region "by and with the consent of the Indians." Perhaps so, but the simple facts are that by 1899 non-Choctaws outnumbered the Indian citizens of the Choctaw Nation by almost ten to one and the Choctaws had been forced to consent to the dissolution of their tribal government and to become citizens of a new state.

On April 23, 1897, at Atoka representatives of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations signed an agreement with representatives of the United

States by which the two Indian nations were given until 1906 to prepare their people to become United States citizens under a white man's government. Bitter opposition to the Atoka Agreement developed within both nations, but Congress passed the Curtis Act on June 28, 1898, which incorporated the terms of the Agreement into Federal law. The handwriting was on the wall and the Agreement was ratified by a vote of the Choctaw and Chickasaw people on August 24, 1898. Unexpectedly, the Choctaws lost control of their schools as a result. The compact made at Atoka provided that the income from coal and asphalt leases should be paid directly into the United States treasury and earmarked for schools in the Choctaw and Chickasaw country. The Secretary of the Interior, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, decided that the Choctaw schools were thereby placed under his control. In 1899 Hitchcock appointed John D. Benedict of Illinois as superintendent of schools for the Indian Territory and E. T. McArthur of Minnesota as supervisor of the Choctaw schools.

Benedict's reports indicate that he had no appreciation whatever for the pride which the Choctaws felt for their school system. To quote Angie Debo, Benedict:

> . . . drew a very dark picture of the incompetence and corruption that characterized the tribal school administration--a description that may have been true in a few instances, but was certainly grossly exaggerated if one is to judge the school system by the results it had accomplished in making the Choctaws a literate people.

He also condemned the emphasis on cultural subjects, a criticism leveled at the Choctaw schools almost from their inception, and advocated that vocational training be stressed. Another familiar criticism was that the boarding schools cost too much and served only an elite group among the Choctaw people. The Choctaw leaders opposed the decisions of Secretary Hitchcock and, among other actions, the Choctaw Council sent a petition to Congress in 1899 which expressed their feelings quite poignantly. It read in part:

> . . . it would be a wrong against modest pride to wrest from the Choctaws and Chickasaws their schools, their highest edifice. Our present school system is the work of many years of earnest effort and steady improvement; and to take from us an institution cherished in its growth to close attachment would be at least unfair. Our system of management of the schools has proved satisfactory as is attested by results.

But their resistance was of no avail. Events moved inexorably toward, not extinction, but a mutation of the Choctaw system of schools. Control of the Choctaw schools was assumed by Federal officials in April, 1899, and Superintendent John D. Benedict reported that he had thereupon:

> . . . held examinations of teachers at seven different places in [the Choctaw] nation, and, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, [had] appointed all teachers and superintendents for the year beginning September 1, 1899. In making appointments [he had] given preference to all Choctaw citizens who were at all competent.

This patronizing attitude displayed by Benedict toward teachers of Choctaw blood was galling to the Choctaws, who were convinced that their Nation had a much higher proportion of educated people than any of the neighboring states. Before Benedict's appearance on the scene, Choctaw teachers had been certified after examinations in the common school subjects and the Choctaw constitution, free textbooks had been furnished to their schools, and standard printed forms had been used for monthly reports to the national superintendent. Further, the teachers had been required to attend frequent teachers' meetings, institutes, and summer normals in order to improve themselves professionally. At one time a professional magazine was published, the Choctaw School Journal. Evidence of their "excellent public-school system," according to Angie Debo, is shown by the number of Choctaw college graduates listed in available records and by the fact that ". . . the quality of written English used by the Choctaws both in their official and private correspondence [was] distinctly superior to that of the white people surrounding them."

The first report of E. T. McArthur as "School Supervisor for the Choctaw Nation" after the Federal takeover was made on June 30, 1900. One paragraph of his statement has a familiar ring and could have been used in part, for almost any year when the schools were under Choctaw control:

> The schools began the first Monday and continued until the 31st of May. A number of schools were late in organizing in the fall, and a number were not able to hold the pupils in school later than the beginning of April. There was much sickness in many of the neighborhoods, which interfered with the school work. Many of the children live a long distance from the school, and in bad weather, the distance the children have to go in order to reach the schoolhouse, the uncomfortable buildings, and indifference upon the part of the patrons of the school, I believe that the schools in the Choctaw Nation have made as much progress as one could reasonably expect.

McArthur stated that there were "110 neighborhood schools in the Choctaw Nation" in 1900 and then proceeded to list 125, giving names and salaries of teachers, number of pupils attending as compared with number of school age children in each neighborhood, and the dates when the schools opened and closed. Seventy-five of the schools reported opened in September 1899, although not all on the first Monday, sixteen in October, fourteen in November, four in December, ten in January, 1900, one each in February and March, and four in April. Only sixty-six schools, regardless of the opening dates actually held classes until May 31. In fact, only sixty-five schools actually were in session as long as eight months, with terms of the remainder ranging from one to seven months. In the most extreme case noted, the school opened on April 2 and closed on April 12, 1900.

McArthur also reported six Choctaw boarding schools in 1900, all in session for full terms of nine months. They were:

	Enrollment	Average Attend.	Annual Cost	Average Cost Per Pupil	Number of Employees
Jones Academy (male)	110	81	$12,771.54	$157.67	11
Spencer Academy (male)	105	81	12,345.48	152.41	11
"Tushkahoma Academy (female)"	111	98	12,656.99	129.15	9
"Armstrong Orphan Academy (male)"	78	78	10,093.96	129.41	7
"Wheelock Orphan Academy (female)"	87	78	9,573.97	120.18	8
Atoka Baptist Academy	58	55	5,569.10	101.25	--
Total	549	471	$63,011.04	$133.78	

The Atoka Baptist Academy was organized by the noted Baptist missionary, Joseph Samuel Murrow, also well known for his Masonic activities. Its inclusion among the Choctaw-supported boarding schools was of short duration. Also no mention was made of Tushkalusa Academy, the boarding school for children of Choctaw freedmen at Talihina. It must have been discontinued by this time, since the last Tushkalusa records discovered were for the fall of 1899. Presumably, since no mention was made in the official reports, no Choctaw students were supported in the United States colleges during the 1899-1900 school year. By comparison with the boarding schools, the enrollment in 120 neighborhood schools--as compared with 110 reported in another place and 125 by actual count of schools named--was given as 2,170, average attendance as 1,812, and the annual cost as $27,570.01, an average of $12.70 per pupil. So the neighborhood schools remained the stepchildren of the Choctaw system of education even under Federal control. Not that it made any great difference, since on November 16, 1907, the Choctaw Nation became part of the state of Oklahoma, the Choctaw neighborhood schools were discontinued, and Choctaw children began to attend the public schools of the new state.

Of the Choctaw boarding schools reported in 1900 the only one still in existence (1975) is Jones Academy. It is managed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a dormitory for Indian children who actually attend classes in the public schools of Hartshorne, Oklahoma. As previously stated, after its destruction by fire in 1896, Spencer Academy was reopened in 1898. Late in 1900 another fire destroyed the new building and the institution ceased to exist. Tushkahoma Female Institute continued operation under Federal supervision until ravaged by fire in 1925; it was never re-built. Armstrong Academy also ended its existence in flames, when one night in February, 1921, a blaze started from a defective flue in the main building. When the conflagration ended, nearly everything connected with the school was destroyed and the Federal government never rebuilt the school. Along with Jones Academy, Wheelock Seminary escaped the flames which destroyed so many of the Choctaw schools. Since August 27, 1955, however, its buildings have stood empty. On that date the girls were moved to Jones Academy, with which Wheelock was merged by order of the Bureau of Indian Affairs after one hundred and twenty-three years of service to Choctaw womanhood.

The Choctaw schools were the forerunners of the present school system of southeastern Oklahoma. The same Christian missionaries whose roles were so important in the education of the Choctaw people, also established schools in the towns which grew up along the railroads toward the end of the Choctaw national period, schools which were attended by both Indians and whites. Many teachers in the early public schools of southeastern Oklahoma after statehood, both Indian and non-Indian, began their teaching careers in the Choctaw schools. Many buildings used by the Choctaw schools also were used, at least temporarily, by the state school system. And it is true that when the Choctaw Nation ceased to be a separate political entity, the Choctaw people compared favorably with the residents of Oklahoma Territory and the neighboring states as an educated Christian populace. Surely the work of preparation for absorption into the main body of American society had been done well, in spite of charges to the contrary by Federal officials. In 1908, the second year of Oklahoma statehood, Green McCurtain, principal chief at the close of tribal independence, expressed his pride in the educational accomplishments of the Choctaws with these words:

> Our people have believed in education and we have spent Hundreds of Thousands of Dollars . . . [so that] many of our people are better equipped for the new duties and responsibilities . . . recently put upon them.

In 1934 Angie Debo published The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic, a work of such merit that it won an award from the American Historical Association as best historical monograph of the year. Some people of Choctaw blood, such as Muriel H. Wright, granddaughter of Principal Chief

Allen Wright, while acknowledging the value of Miss Debo's study, were critical of some of her conclusions and of the implications to be drawn from the title. For example, Miss Wright maintained that, "The Choctaw republic rose but it did not fall." Miss Wright argued in support of this premise:

> From its inception over a century ago, /̄ the Choctaw Republic ̲7 was planned as a training ground for the Choctaw people, in preparation for the time when they of their own volition would become citizens of their protector Republic, the United States. When at the end of almost three quarters of a century, they cast a vote in favor of such a step by adopting the Atoka Agreement /̄ 1897 ̲7 and later the Supplemental Agreement /̄ 1902 ̲7, they as a nation had attained a position where their leaders were counted among the leaders in the new State of Oklahoma organized soon afterward. Thus, the Choctaw Nation as a republic did not fall, it attained its objective.

Many will agree with Miss Wright. The Choctaw people were indeed heeding the warnings of such leaders as Principal Chief Isaac Garvin, quoted earlier as declaring, "Educate! or We Perish!," when they supported schools to educate their children to be able to cope with whatever the future might hold for them in what was fast becoming for them a white man's world. Therefore the Choctaw people did not "fall" or "perish." They united themselves and their heritage, including devotion to education, to the larger heritage of the new state of Oklahoma. The Choctaw tradition and influence lives on. In retrospect, surely the Methodist missionary, Henry C. Benson, was not far from the mark when he wrote of the Choctaw Republic, "Probably no nation on earth has ever applied so large a proportion of its public revenue to the cause of education."

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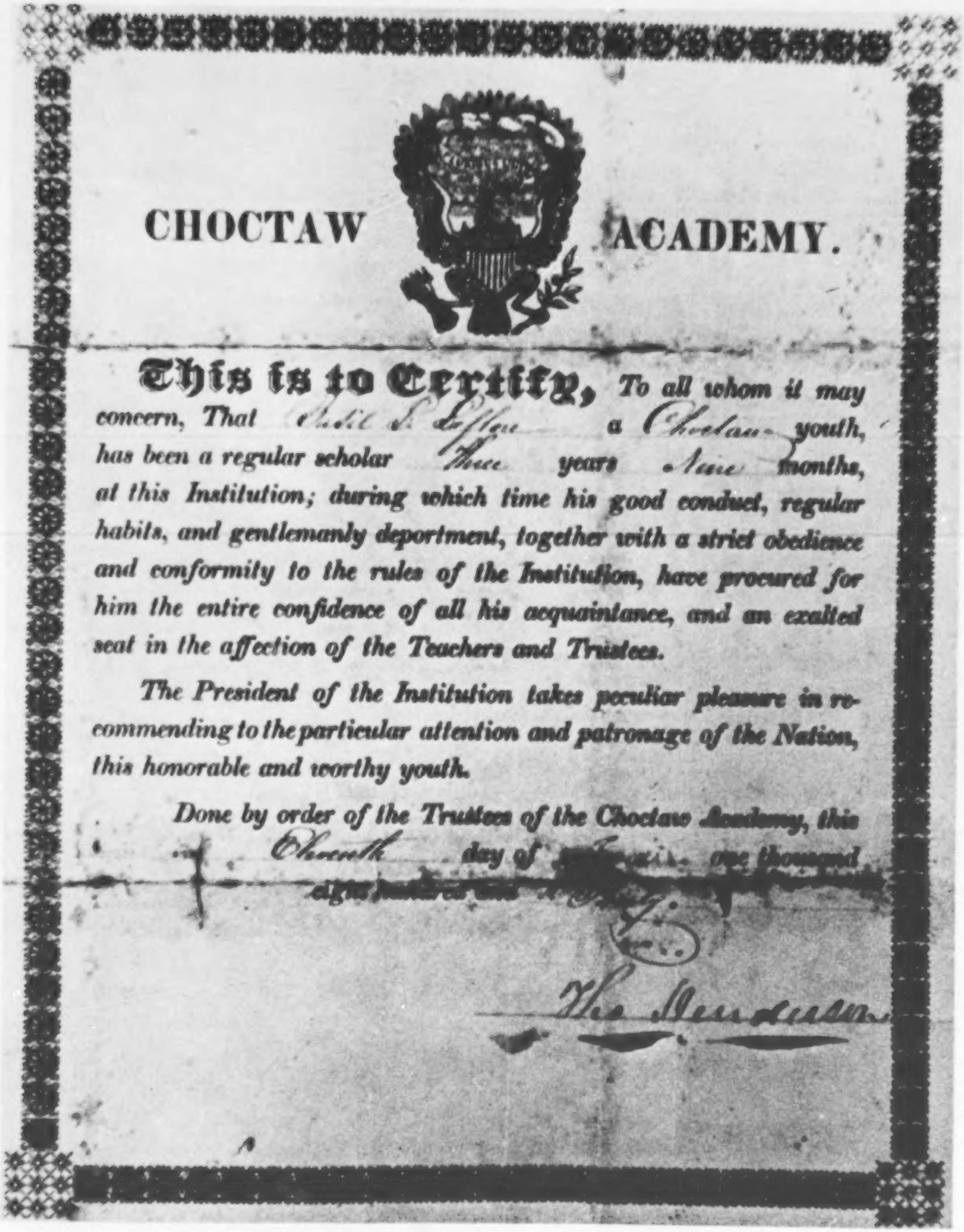


CHOCTAW ACADEMY.

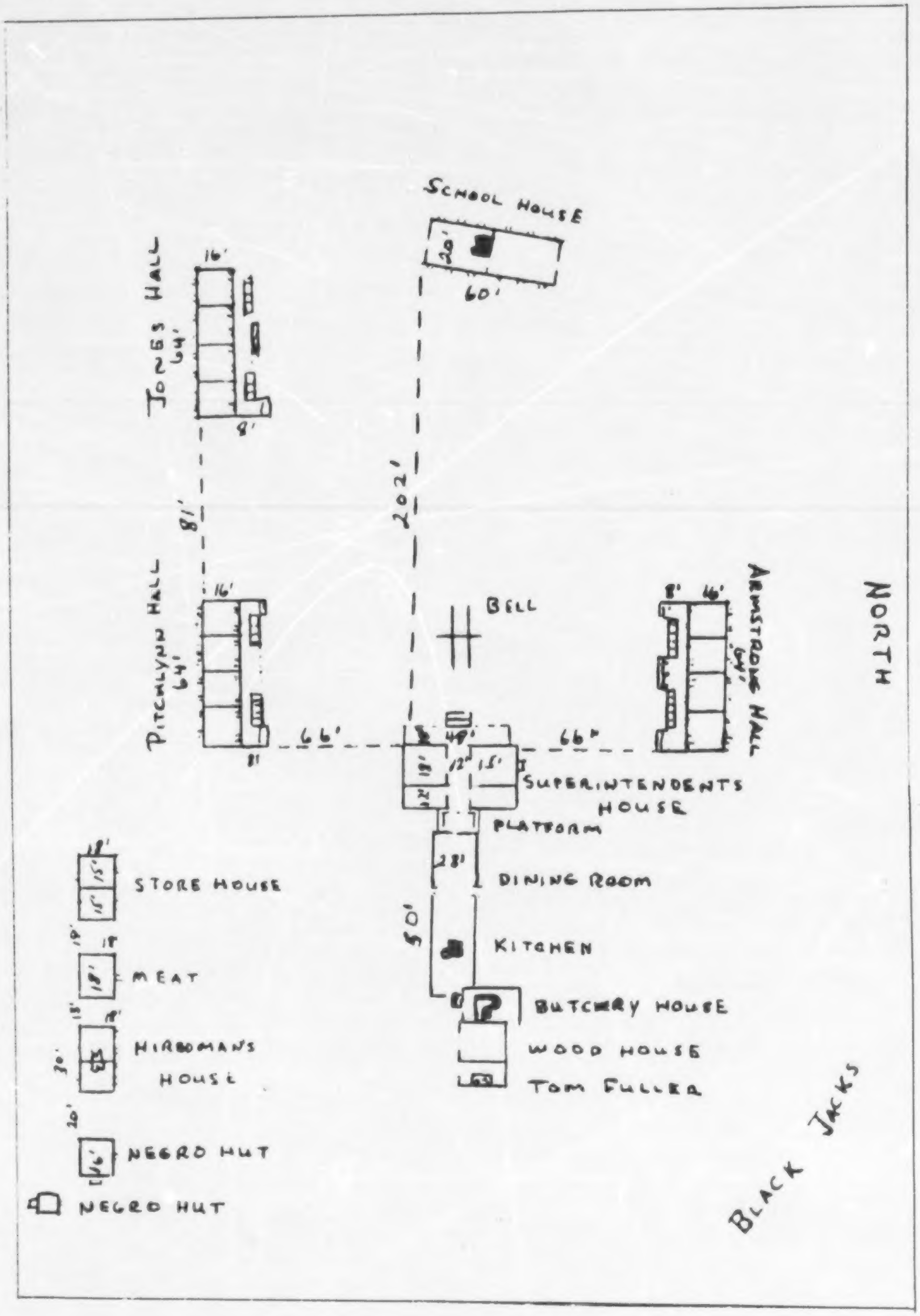
This is to Certify, *To all whom it may concern, That* Basil L. Leflore *a* Choctaw *youth, has been a regular scholar* Three *years* Nine *months, at this Institution; during which time his good conduct, regular habits, and gentlemanly deportment, together with a strict obedience and conformity to the rules of the Institution, have procured for him the entire confidence of all his acquaintance, and an exalted seat in the affection of the Teachers and Trustees.*

The President of the Institution takes peculiar pleasure in recommending to the particular attention and patronage of the Nation, this honorable and worthy youth.

Done by order of the Trustees of the Choctaw Academy, this Eleventh *day of* [illegible] *one thousand eight hundred and* [illegible]

Tho Henderson

This certificate, signed by Thomas Henderson, principal, and dated June 11, 1830, was issued to Basil L. Leflore by the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky. Leflore, younger brother of Greenwood Leflore, was governor of the Choctaw Nation, 1859-1860, under the controversial Skullyville Constitution of 1857.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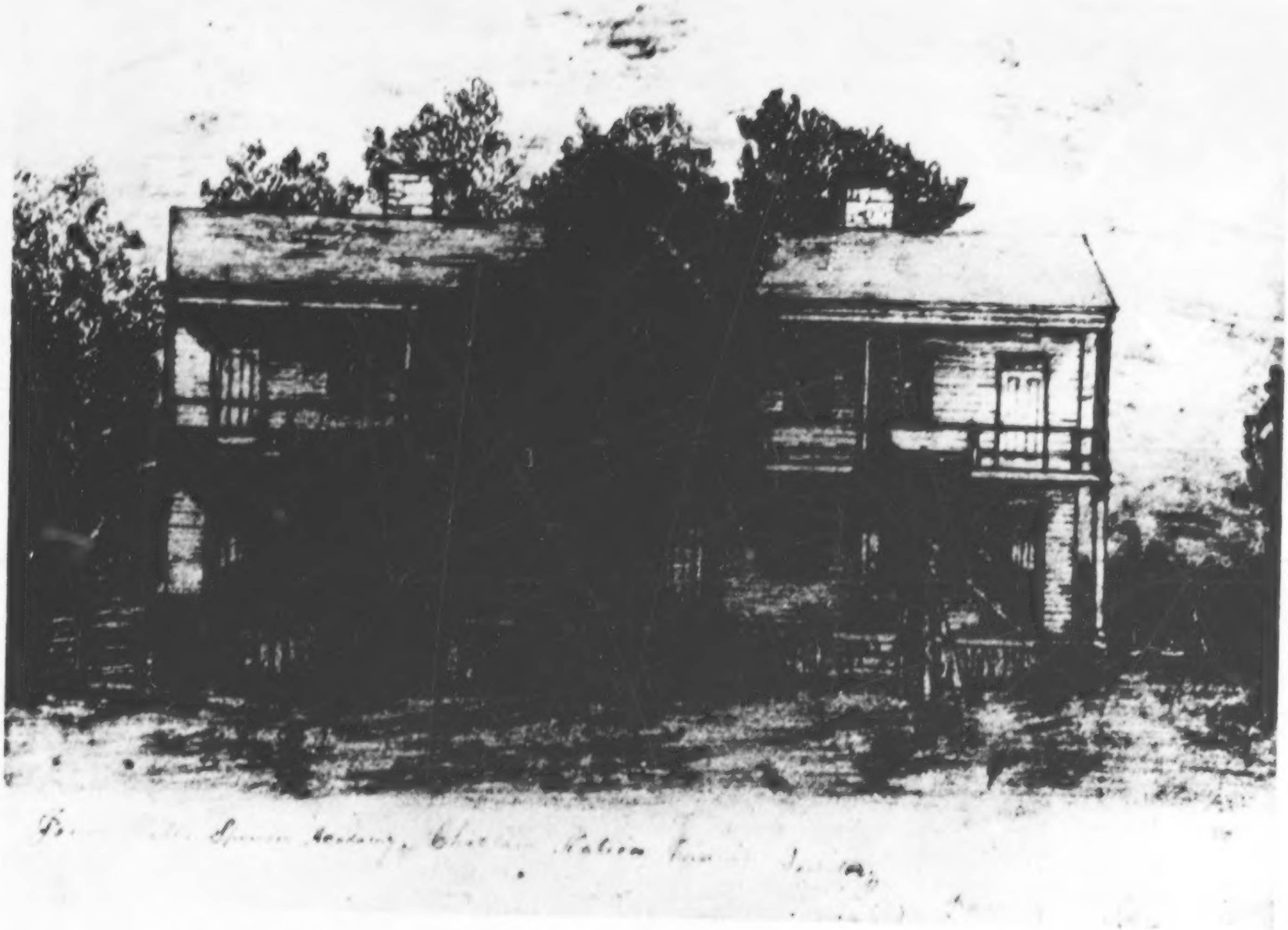
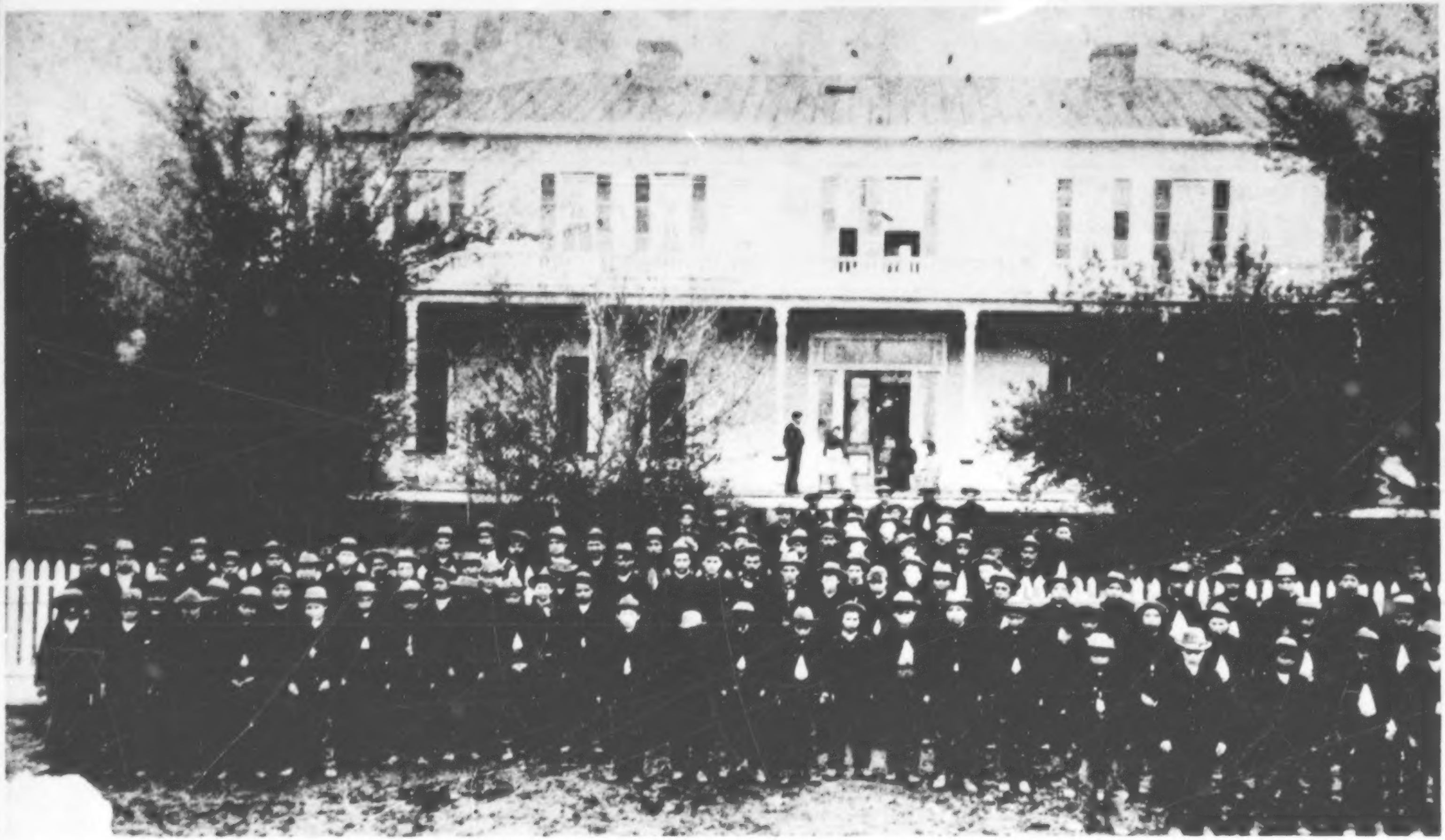
NEGRO HUT

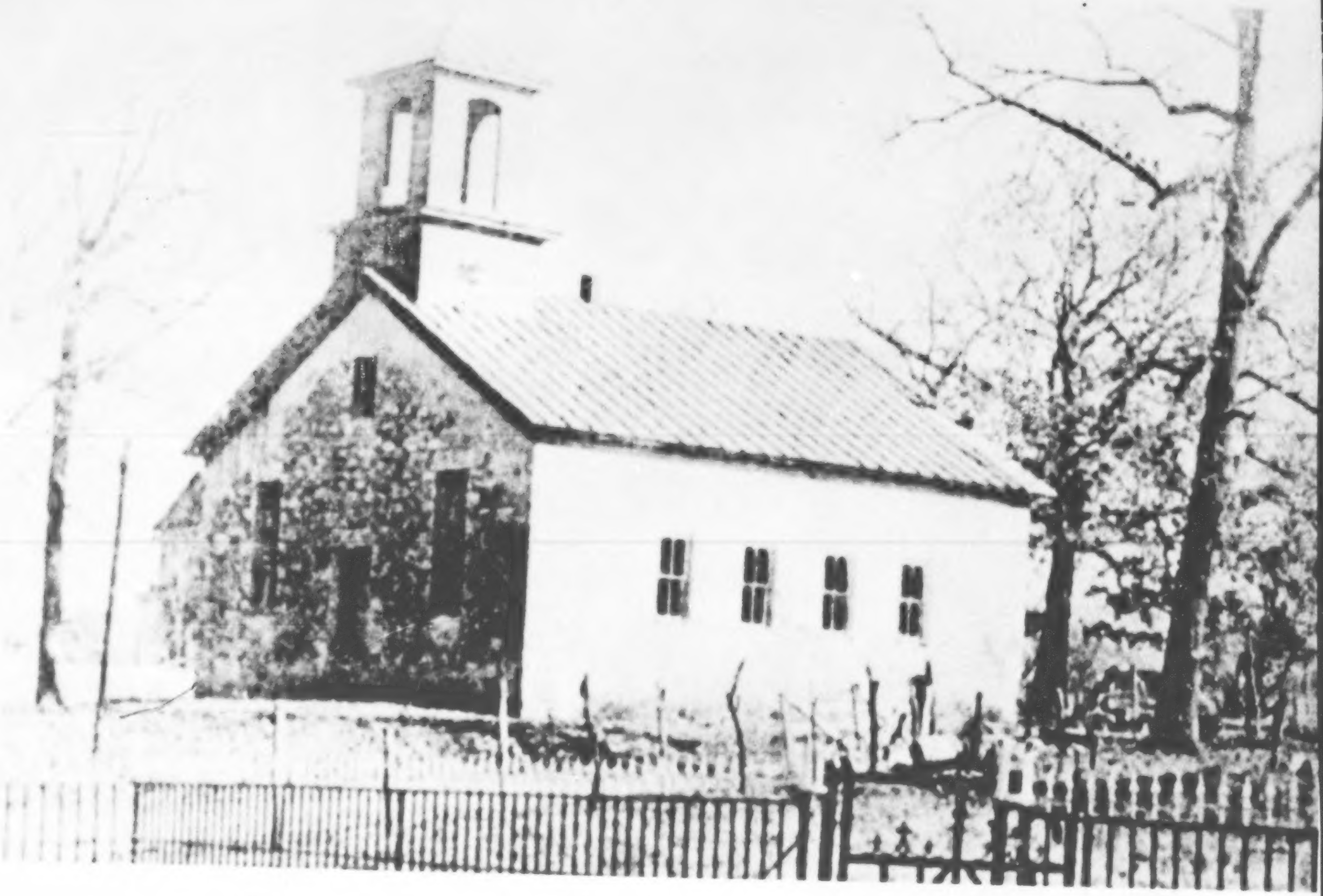
Ground plan of Spencer Academy in 1846, two years after its opening. McKenney Hall was later constructed on the northwest corner of the quadrangle. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.


Spencer Academy, Choctaw Nation

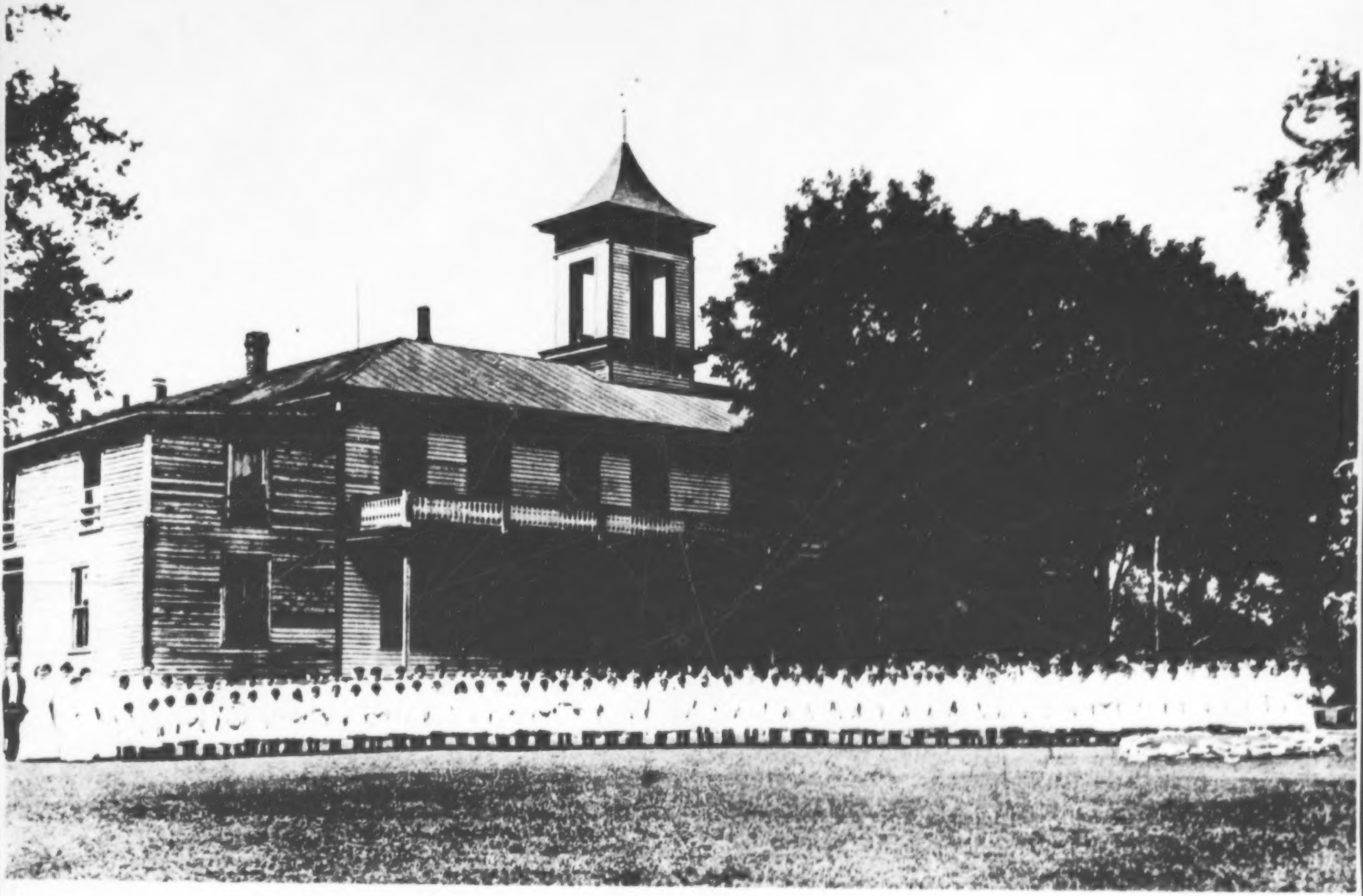
A sketch of Jones Hall, one of four similar frame structures which were the chief buildings at Spencer Academy in 1861. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.



The student body and faculty of New Spencer Academy, located northeast of the present Soper, Oklahoma. The original Spencer Academy, north of Fort Towson, was closed and New Spencer established in 1882 about twenty miles west of the original site. This probably is the building which burned in 1896. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.

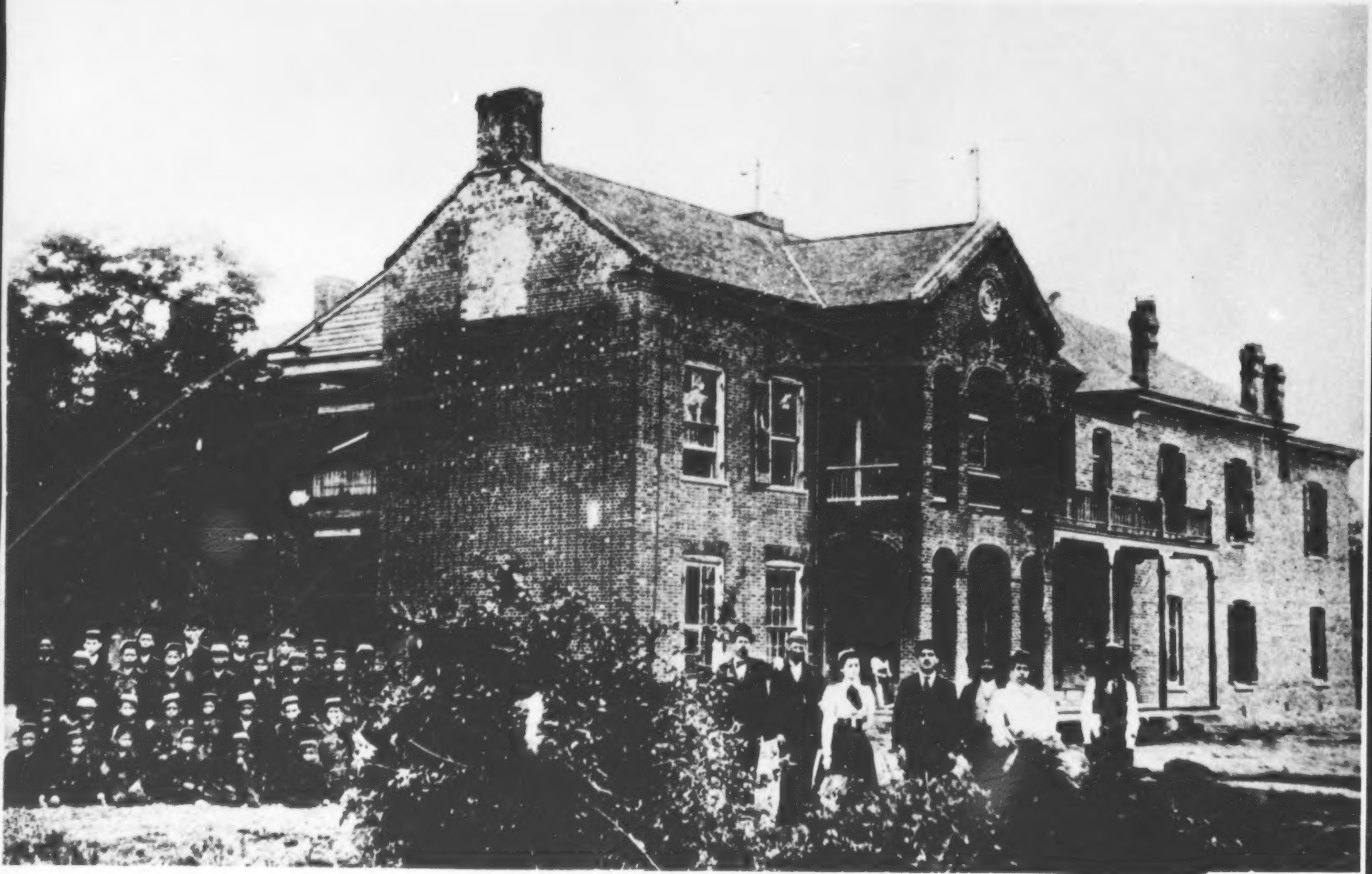


Wheelock Church. Constructed of stone in 1846, this building still houses a Presbyterian congregation. Alfred Wright is buried just behind the iron fence in the foreground. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.

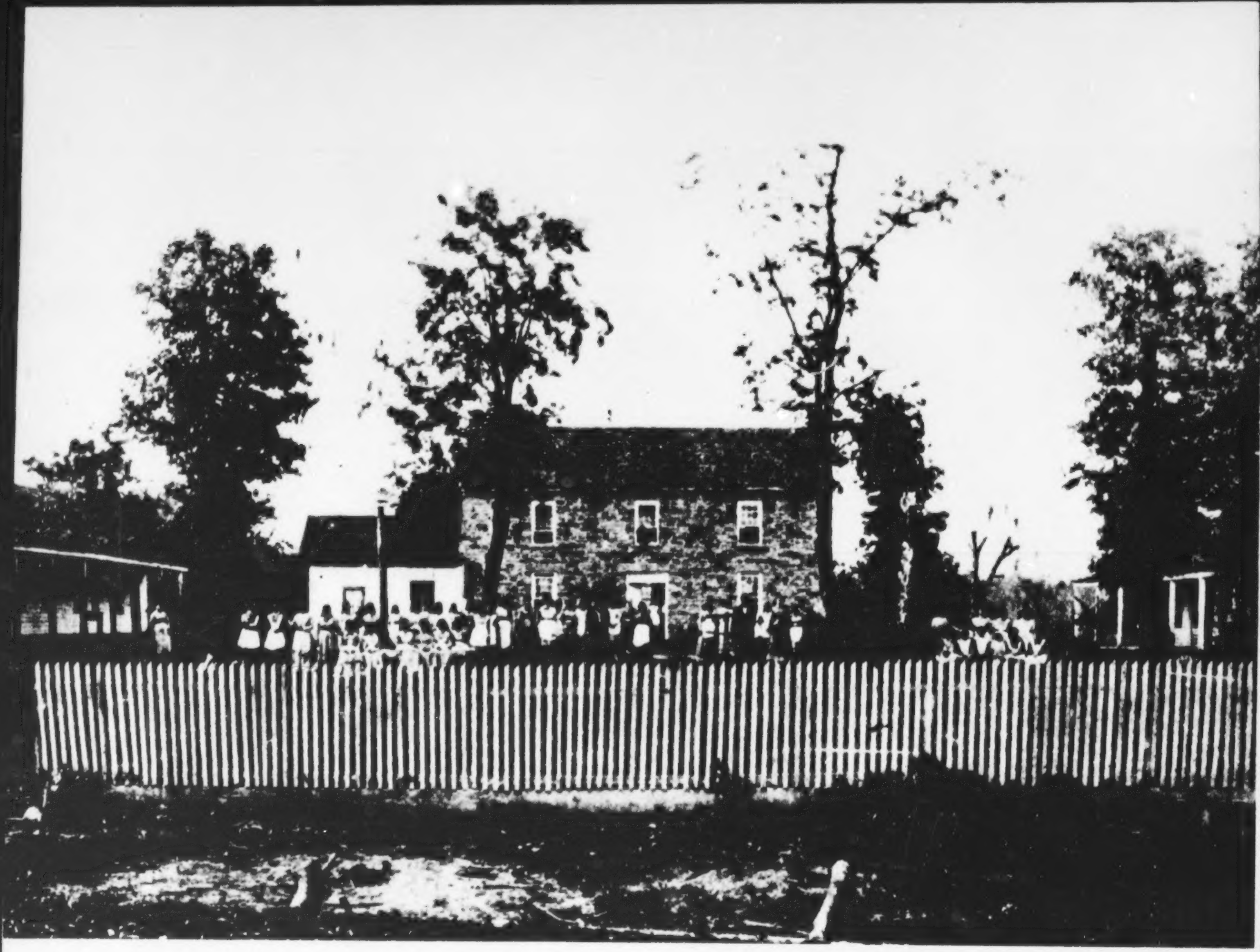


Faculty and student body of Wheelock Seminary in early 1890s. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.

Pushmataha Hall, main building of Wheelock Academy at the time of its closing in 1955. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.

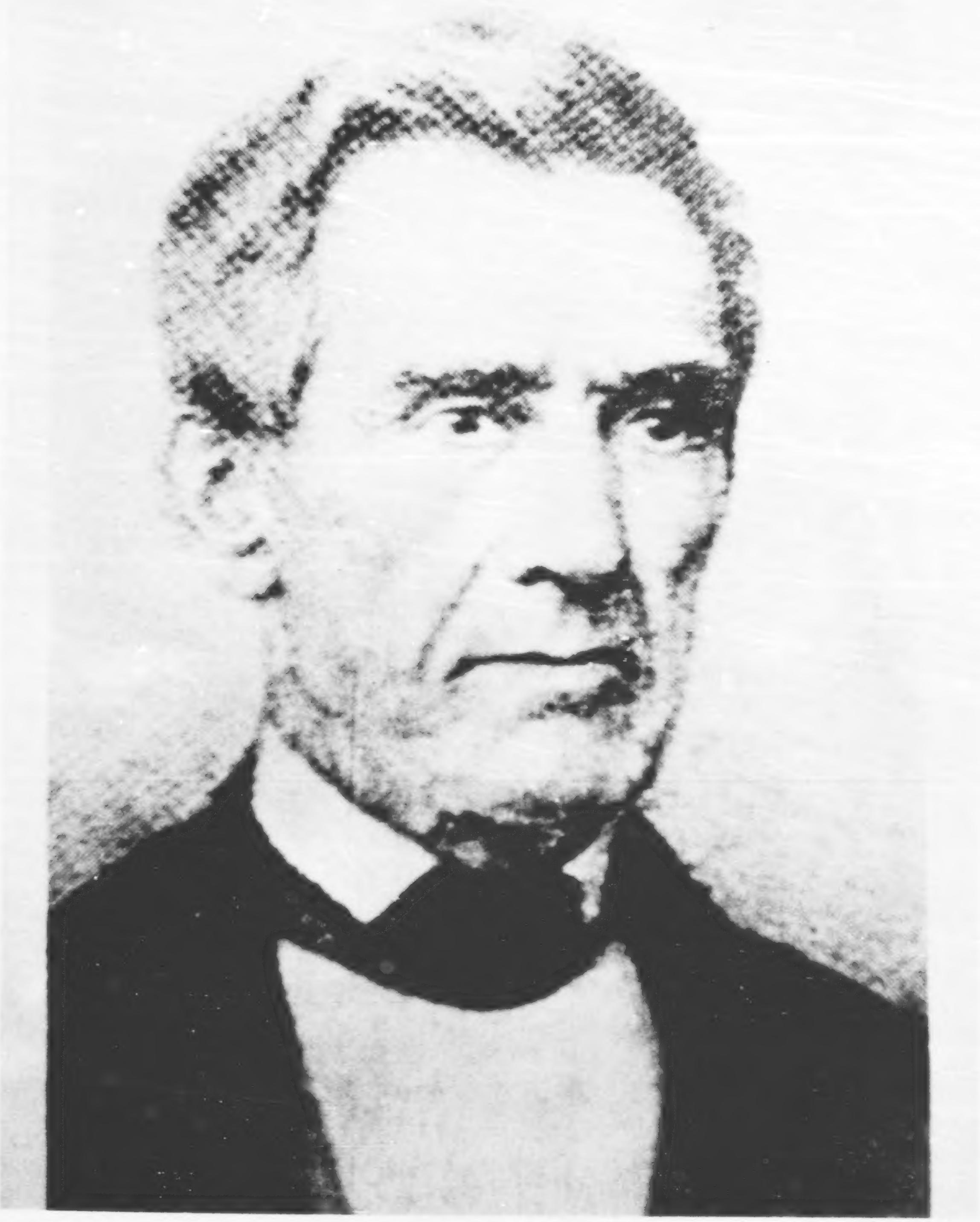


The student body and faculty of Armstrong Academy, located about three miles northeast of the present Bokchito, Oklahoma. Constructed in 1858, this building served as the capitol for the Choctaw Nation, 1863-1883. It was destroyed by fire in 1921. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.

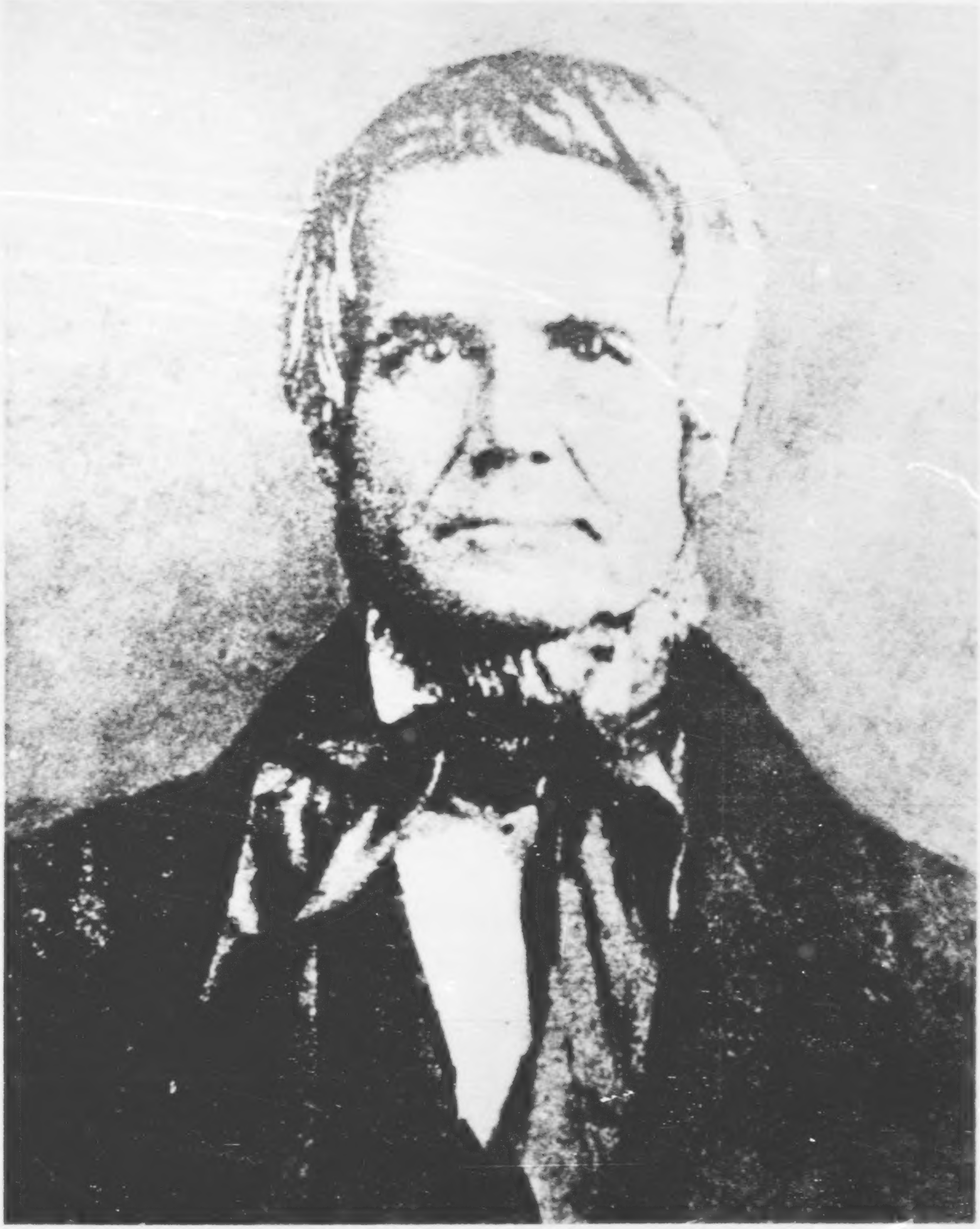


Faculty and student body of New Hope Seminary, located about two miles east of the present Spiro, Oklahoma. The date of this picture is uncertain but probably was not long before the main building was destroyed by fire in 1896. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.

Cyrus Kingsbury (1786-1870), "Apostle to the Choctaws." Sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he established the Choctaw Mission in Mississippi in 1818, removed it to Oklahoma in the 1830s, and labored among the Choctaws as preacher and teacher until his death at the age of eighty-four. Lame from his youth, the Choctaws affectionately called him "Limping Wolf (Nashoba Tʋbikli)."

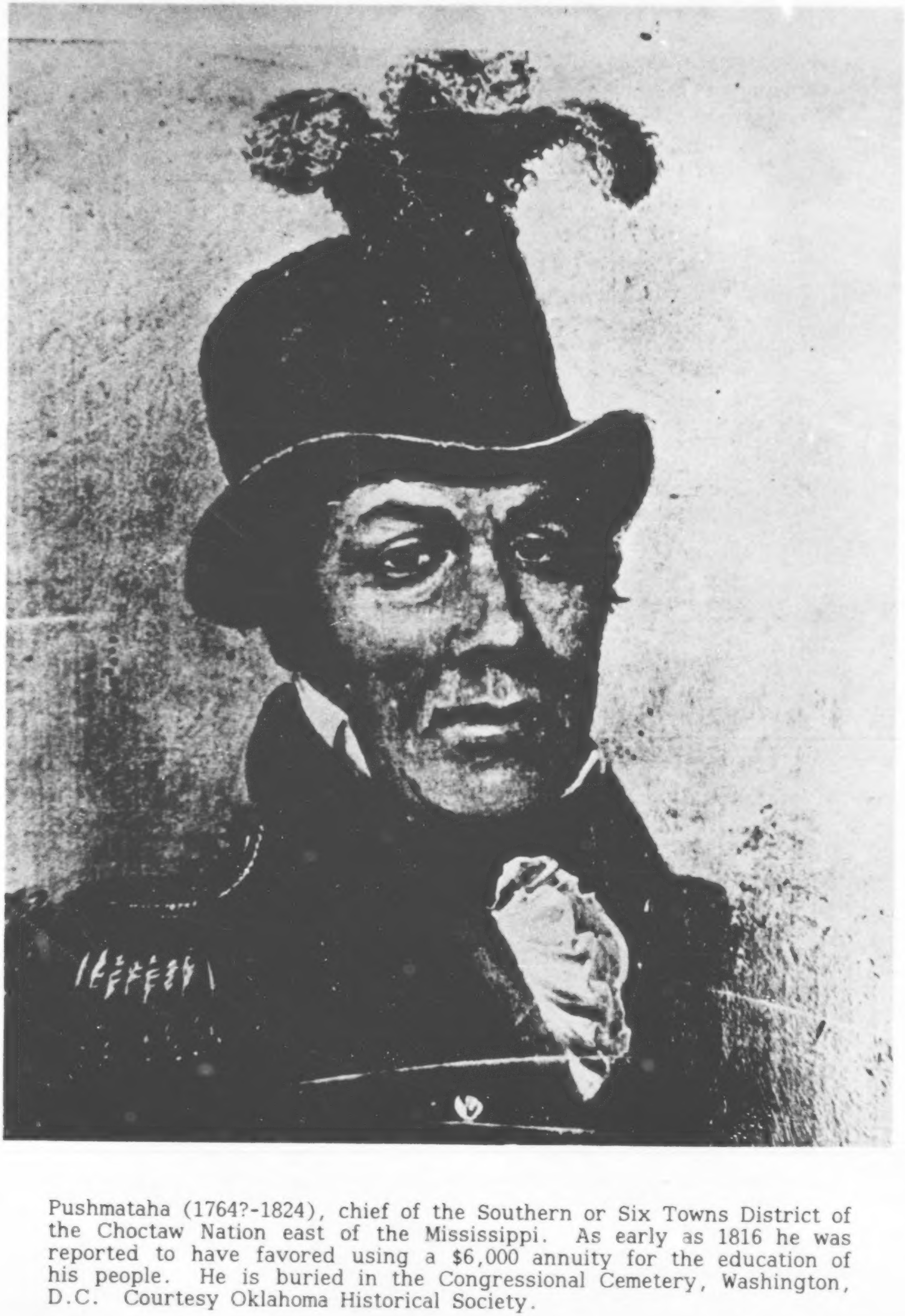


Alfred Wright (1788-1853). Known as the "Beloved Physician (Alikchi Holitopa)" by the Choctaws, Wright was sent in 1823 to the Choctaw Mission by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. After removal from Mississippi, he established Wheelock mission station near the present Millerton, Oklahoma, in 1833.



Cyrus Byington (1793-1868). The premier scholar among the missionaries sent to the Choctaw Nation by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Byington lived and worked among the Choctaws from 1820 until 1865. Known as "Sounding Horn (Isht Pufa Kobohʋchi)" because of his sonorous style of preaching, his most important contribution to the Choctaws was his preparation of a comprehensive dictionary of the Choctaw language, along with a grammar and translations from the Bible.

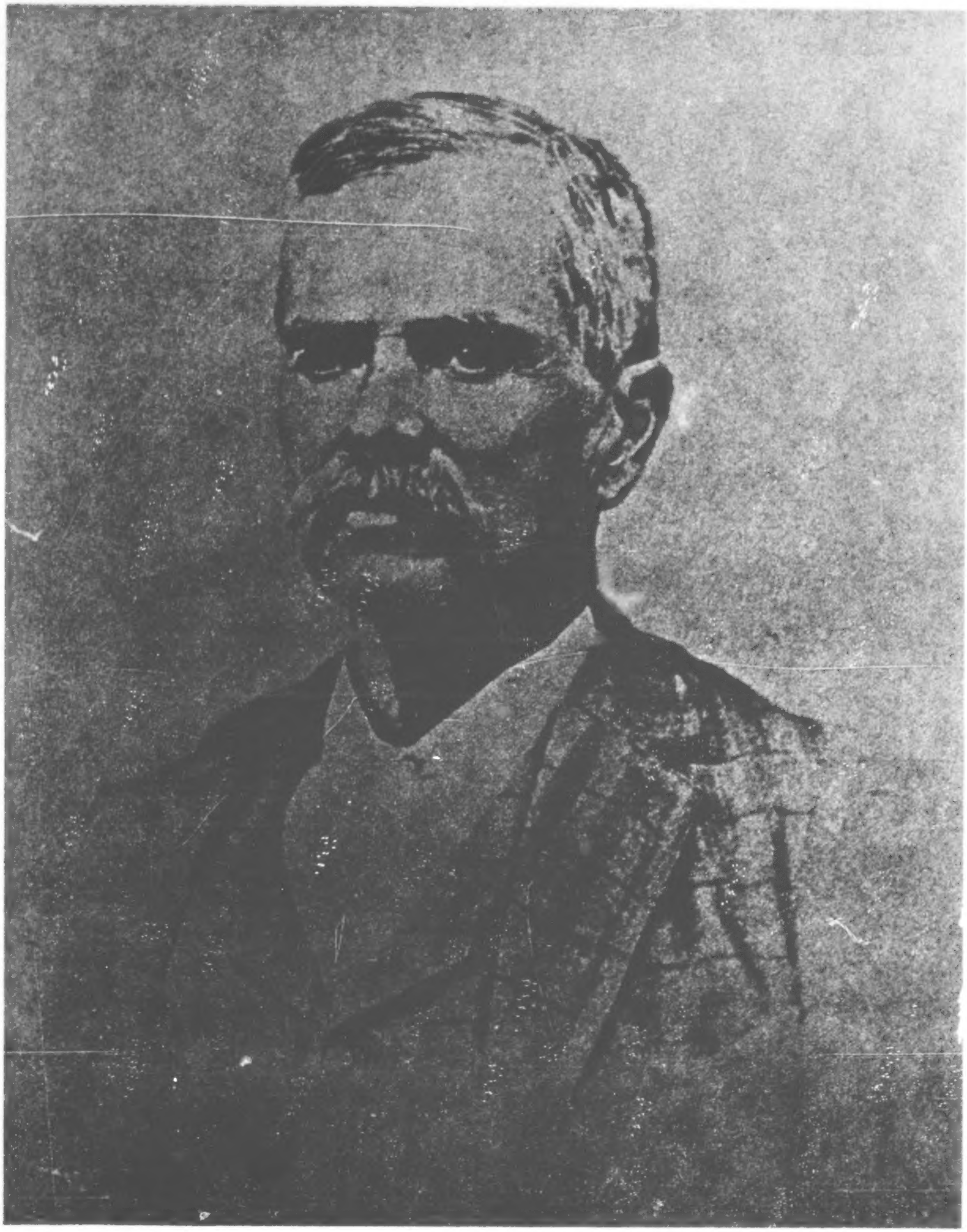
William H. Goode (?-1879). As a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal church, Goode served in the Choctaw Nation as the first superintendent (1843-1845) of Fort Coffee Academy. He described his experiences in the Choctaw Nation and elsewhere on the American frontier in Outposts of Zion (Cincinnati, 1864).



Pushmataha (1764?-1824), chief of the Southern or Six Towns District of the Choctaw Nation east of the Mississippi. As early as 1816 he was reported to have favored using a $6,000 annuity for the education of his people. He is buried in the Congressional Cemetery, Washington, D.C. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.

Peter P. Pitchlynn (1806-1881), principal chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1864-1866, was a chief architect of the educational system established by the Choctaw Nation in the nineteenth century. He is buried in the Congressional Cemetery, Washington, D.C. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.

Allen Wright (1826-1885), principal chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1866-1870, was a fine example of the successful performance of the Choctaw system of public education. A graduate of Union College, Schenectady, New York (1852), and Union Theological Seminary, New York City (1855), it was Wright who in 1866 suggested Oklahoma ("people red" in Choctaw) as a name for the area. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.



Wilson N. Jones (1827?-1901), principal chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1890-1894. His administration was marked by the establishment of three Choctaw schools: Jones Academy (boys) near Hartshorne; "Tushka Homa" Female Institute near Tuskahoma; and "Tushka Lusa" Institute (for freedmen) at Talihina. Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society.

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